

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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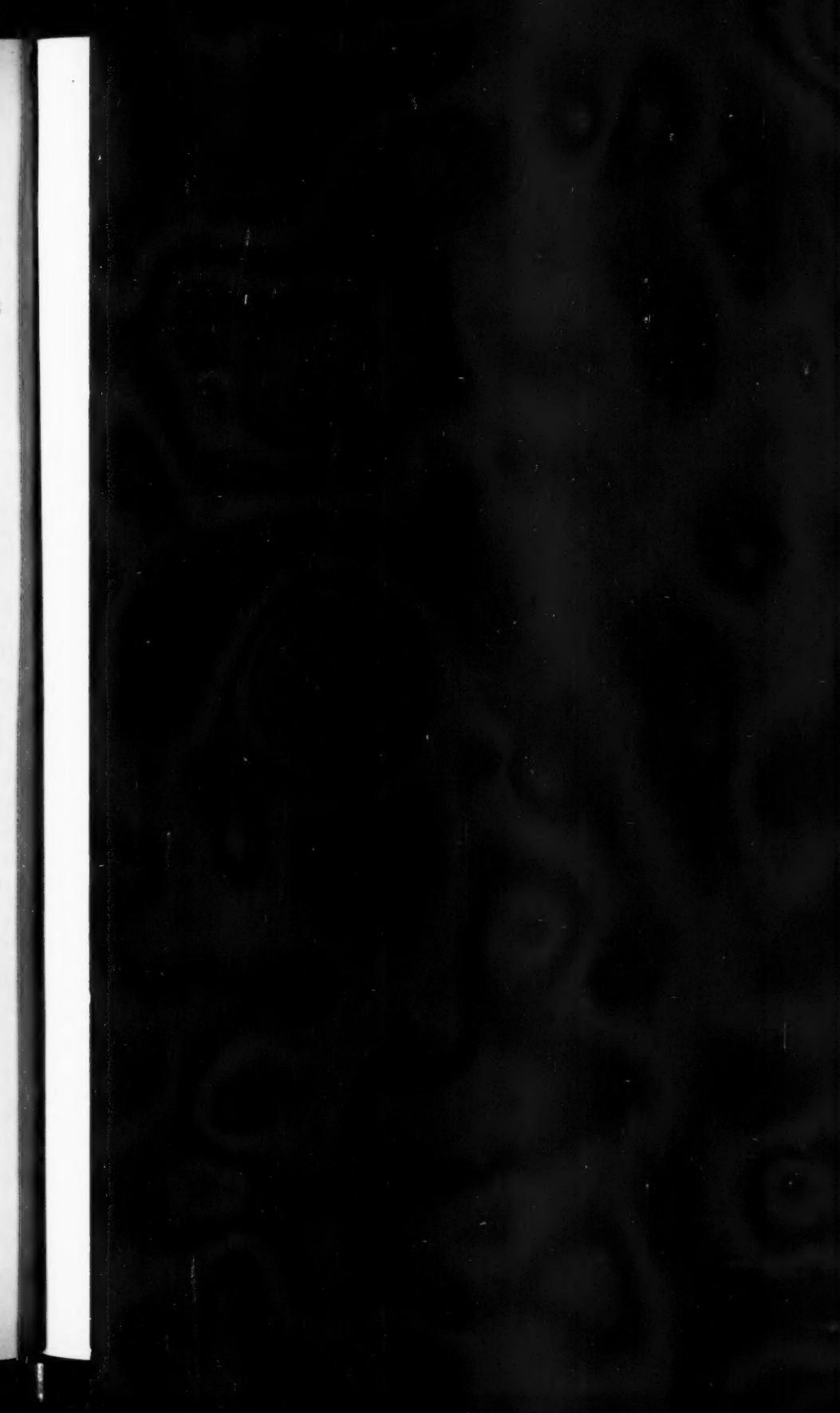
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METHODIST REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE CREDIBILITY OF THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS.

It is obvious that our Lord's resurrection stands in a very different relation to Christian faith from any of his other miracles. Other miracles are divine authentications of the revelation which he gave. The resurrection is itself an integral part of that revelation. There might have been more or less of those other miracles, and our general conception of the character and work of Jesus would have been still the same. If he had fed the multitudes with a few loaves once instead of twice, if he had raised a dead person to life once or twice instead of thrice, if any one or if some considerable number of the miracles recorded in the gospels had been left unrecorded, or if the record of some of them should be discredited as unauthentic, it would make no essential difference in our conception of the character and work of Jesus or in the general system of Christian doctrine. But if the record of the resurrection were lost or discredited our whole conception of Christ and of Christianity would be radically changed. Something, indeed, of the work of Jesus would be left if the world should lose its faith in his resurrection.

In the wreck of noble lives,
Something immortal still survives.

Whatever changes there may be in men's opinions of Christ and Christianity, human life will always be better for the ethical teaching of the Sermon on the Mount; human character will always be nobler for the example of sublime self-sacrifice on

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Calvary. But the residue which would be left if the world should lose its faith in the resurrection would not be historic Christianity. It was "Jesus and the resurrection" that Paul preached at Athens. The resurrection was the corner stone on which the faith of the primitive Church was built. Whatever might remain if the resurrection should cease to be believed, it would not be Christianity. It would not be the faith that has made martyrs and missionaries—the faith that has transformed the world's history.

There is a profound contrast between the habits of thought, the intellectual atmosphere, of the first century and the nineteenth. Then, the science of nature was in a rudimentary state of development and had produced very little effect upon the general habits of thought. The doctrines of the unity of nature and the universality of natural law had scarcely been formulated by philosophers, and had not entered at all into popular thinking. Faith in the preternatural was universal, and ready credence was given everywhere to any alleged or imagined prodigy. Then, Herod could believe that John, whom he had beheaded, had risen from the dead, and the Roman populace could expect that Nero would return from the realm of shades and once more curse the earth with his presence. It was in that environment that the faith in the resurrection of Jesus was born. Can that faith survive in the very different intellectual atmosphere of the present age? The question is one of profoundest moment. It is the belief of many earnest and thoughtful minds that the faith in the resurrection must go with other beautiful myths and legends belonging to a stage of intellectual development which the world has outgrown. That is the teaching, for instance, of *Robert Elsmere* —a work which kindles our sympathetic admiration, not more by its vividness of delineation of character and its intense pathos, than by the profound sincerity and religious earnestness with which it is inspired. In that truly great and noble book the idea is continually presented, sometimes by direct assertion, sometimes by implication or insinuation, that the conception of the resurrection survives now only in the realm of emotion —that it can have no place in the intellectual life of this age.

Apparently in utter unconsciousness of the difficulties which the spirit of this age finds in the way of belief in a miraculous

event, many of the teachers of Christian evidences simply point to the apparently honest contemporary testimony to the fact of the resurrection, and confidently declare that no fact in ancient history is so well attested. It is doubtless true that the weight of testimony which can be marshaled in behalf of the resurrection is greater than that on the strength of which most facts of ancient history are believed; but the truth of that proposition is by no means sufficient to establish the credibility of the resurrection itself. We can no more judge of the adequacy of testimony to establish belief in any particular allegation, without regard to the character of the allegation, than we can decide whether a bridge is sufficiently strong without considering whether it is to bear foot passengers or railway trains.

It is, indeed, unnecessary to spend much time in proving that a miracle is possible. Nothing short of absolutely complete knowledge of the system of nature could entitle us to pronounce any allegation impossible *a priori* which is not self-contradictory.* That nature is governed by a system of law, that all the events of nature are linked together in a determinate and formulable order of coexistence or succession—this is the postulate with which science begins, and the belief which impresses itself upon the mind with deepening intensity of conviction as science advances. But, while it may be taken for granted that there are laws of nature, it is a very different question whether we have yet discovered those laws. Any formula which we call provisionally a law of nature is only a generalization of such facts bearing upon the class of phenomena in question as may be within the scope of our present knowledge. As that knowledge must always be incomplete, the supposed law can never attain the standard of certainty, but only that of a higher or lower degree of probability. In regard, even, to those laws which are based on the most extensive experience and the most thorough analysis of that experience, the possibility must always remain that some new fact may come to our knowledge which will contradict the supposed law. That the sun will rise to-morrow at the time predicted by the astronomers is extremely probable, but not certain. It is possible that the sun

* "Whatever is intelligible and can be distinctly conceived implies no contradiction, and can never be proved false by any demonstration, argument, or abstract reasoning *a priori*."
—Hume.

may fail to rise. A new fact contradicting one of our supposed laws of nature would show, not that nature is lawless, but rather that our supposed law was only true approximately or within limits, that it was not exactly true, and that the real law is more complex than our provisional formula. So long, then, as human knowledge falls short of omniscience we cannot be warranted in pronouncing impossible *a priori* any allegation which involves no self-contradiction.*

But the possibility of miracle is one thing; the probability of miracle is a very different thing. While no one of those generalizations of our experience which we call provisionally natural laws can reach the standard of certainty, there are many of them which attain an extremely high degree of probability. Some of these generalizations rest on a collection of observations so immense and so thoroughly analyzed that the occurrence of a new fact which will contradict the generalization, though not absolutely impossible, is enormously improbable. Here we reach the ground of Hume's famous argument against the credibility of miracles. Hume's position is substantially that a miracle is *a priori* so enormously improbable that the falsity of any supposable amount of human testimony is more probable than the truth of the alleged miracle. The sophistical form in which Hume stated his argument has been justly criticised, and criticised by the agnostic Huxley, as well as by Christian writers; but the force of the argument depends, not on the sophistical form, but on the truth which it contains. That truth is that the amount and quality of testimony necessary to establish belief in any allegation varies with the *a priori* probability or improbability of the allegation, and that accordingly there may be allegations so enormously improbable that no supposable array of testimony would render them credible. Suppose all Roman historians of the century commencing with the death of Nero whose works are extant agreed in the assertion that Nero rose from the dead. Would such agreement establish in our minds a belief in the truth of the allegation? We answer, without hesitation, "No." We

* A more complete analysis of the conception of natural law, showing the impossibility of certainty in any such generalizations, we have given in an article, entitled "The Degree of Probability of Scientific Beliefs," published in the *New Englander and Yale Review*, January, 1891; republished as chapter iii in *Twenty-five Years of Scientific Progress, and other Essays*, New York and Boston, 1894.

believe that most of us would not even be brought to the point of seriously questioning whether the allegation might not be true. The supposition of error in all the historians of the period, arising from some mistake or fraud on the part of those who first gave currency to the story, would seem to us immensely more probable than the supposition of the truth of the allegation.

Why should we believe in the resurrection of Jesus on the evidence of testimony, when we can hardly conceive of any array of testimony which would convince us of the resurrection of Nero? The answer to this question may be given in two different forms.

I. In so far as the character of Jesus is unique and apparently superhuman, the *a priori* probability against the resurrection is diminished. If it is conceded that in various respects Jesus differs from all other men, it is thereby rendered more or less probable that he may differ from all other men in other respects. It is certainly true that the character of Jesus is unique. He seems to stand apart from mere men, like some mysterious visitor from a higher sphere. "Never man spake like this man." He bids the world, "Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls." What other lips could thus have put into a single sentence the profession of humility and the claim to supremacy over mankind without producing an impression of grotesque incongruity? On the lips of Jesus the two utterances blend in sweet and solemn harmony. Behold him in the days of the passion week and in the threefold trial on the morning of the crucifixion. How, with each accession of humiliation, he reveals more fully a serene and superhuman majesty! The lower he stoops the higher he rises.

With whom among the sons of men shall we compare him? Shall it be with the saints of the Christian Church? The holiest of them loves best to confess that he only reflects some portion of the glory of Jesus, as the planets reflect the splendor of the sun. Shall we compare him with other founders of religions? Read the story of Buddha, as told so lovingly—too lovingly, perhaps, for strict and critical fidelity to truth—in Sir Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia." Read the beautiful story with loving sympathy, and thank God that "he left not himself

without witness" among the teeming millions of the Orient, but raised up for them a teacher of righteousness. But "the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another." The light of Asia pales before the Light of the world. Try to patch into one of the gospels the story of Buddha stealing out from his sumptuous palace, past the lovely sleeping forms of his troop of nautch girls, when the wail of human sorrow calls him forth to his great mission—try to patch into one of the gospels that story, as told so sweetly in Arnold's poem or, still worse, as told more repulsively in the Indian original—and how wildly incongruous it would be! The seamless robe would be changed for the piebald garment of a harlequin. Among earth's saints and sages there is no peer for the Man of Nazareth. It is not incredible that he who was superhuman in life should have been superhuman in death.

II. For the atheist, convinced that there is no moral purpose in the government of the world, there can be no meaning in a miracle, and such an extraordinary event is as improbable at one time as at another. But to him who believes, or even hopes, that the world is ruled by a God of moral attributes, it must appear more or less probable that such a God may choose to reveal himself to his children and may make the system of nature itself emphasize and attest that revelation. In proportion to the importance of the revelation which is to be made is the probability of some miraculous sign for its attestation. When we consider that but for the faith in the resurrection Christianity would have been buried forever in the rock-hewn tomb in which the Master lay, and when we try to measure what Christianity, with its revelation of divine fatherhood and human brotherhood and redemption from sin and life immortal, has been to mankind in these centuries of Christendom and Christian civilization and what it promises to be in the glories of a millennial future, we cannot deem it "a thing incredible" that, in that transcendent crisis of man's moral history, "God should raise the dead."

By such considerations as these the *a priori* improbability of a resurrection is so far neutralized that we are in a posture of mind to consider the testimony which can be cited in favor of the resurrection of Jesus. The resurrection of Jesus is not, as the resurrection of Nero would be, an event so enormously

improbable that scarcely any supposable testimony would suffice to render it credible. The historic record of the resurrection is contained in six of the books of the New Testament—the four gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The last of these has a peculiar importance, as being both the earliest in date and the most unquestionable in authenticity. Skepticism itself does not doubt that the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written by the apostle Paul, and at a date not more than about a quarter of a century after the death of Christ—at a time, therefore, when the greater part of the more than five hundred brethren who claimed to have beheld the risen Lord were still living. The summary of the appearances of the risen Christ to the apostles, as contained in that epistle, is therefore conclusive evidence that the faith in the resurrection was the faith of the first generation of Christians. It was not a myth that grew up slowly, when the original witnesses of the events of the life of Jesus had passed away and the simple tradition which they left had come to be embellished by the imaginative additions of later generations. It was the faith of the disciples who were contemporary with Jesus. It must be freely conceded that there is not the same degree of certainty in regard to the date and authorship of the gospels and the Acts as in regard to those of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Yet we believe that the result of the most searching criticism is the conclusion that the three synoptical gospels probably existed in substantially their present shape before the year 70 of the Christian era, and that the fourth gospel is probably the authentic work of John, written in his old age, toward the close of the first century.

We have, then, probably six contemporary documents, written by five different writers, all belonging to the circle of the apostles and their immediate associates. The evidence of these records is in no wise weakened by the discrepancies between them. They are just such discrepancies as always exist between a number of honest but incomplete narratives of a series of transactions. To cavil at them is as malicious as it is foolish to attempt to harmonize them. The substantially historic character of the narratives and their trustworthiness as regards the main facts may be reasonably maintained, even if it be conceded that there is ground for the suspicion that some details

of the story (as, for instance, the angelic apparitions)* may be unhistoric—the result either of some mistake or confusion on the part of the original witnesses or of some early corruption of the tradition.

It is unnecessary to comment on the air of perfect simplicity and guilelessness pervading the gospels. A candid reader is continually impressed with the conviction that the writers of those books fully believed what they wrote. The fourth gospel is probably the only record of the events connected with the resurrection by an eyewitness, since the first gospel, in its present form, is probably not the work of an apostle, though it doubtless contains much material of which Matthew was actually the writer. In John's narrative we meet in richest abundance those little particulars which impress themselves upon the memory of an eyewitness, but which tend to lose their distinctness as a story is repeated by other persons. In the narrative of the visit of Peter and John to the tomb, we have such particulars as John's outrunning Peter, looking first into the open sepulcher, and seeing the linen clothes; his timid or reverent hesitation to enter; Peter's impetuous rush into the sepulcher, followed by John; the napkin that had covered the head of Jesus, "not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself." There is an air of photographic fidelity rather than of artistic selection of details. The very form of the narrative makes an almost irresistible impression that John is describing that which he has actually seen and experienced.

The obvious honesty of all the narratives and the circumstantial detail which marks John's gospel as the work of an eyewitness scarcely leave room for doubt that the sepulcher of Jesus was found untenanted on the morning of the first day of the week. In some way the body of Jesus had been removed. That fact, of itself, is of no miraculous character; and there is no reason, therefore, why, so far as that fact goes, the gospel narratives should not be recognized as having the same degree of trustworthiness as belongs to other apparently honest narratives of unexpected, but not miraculous, events. The absence

*Furness has suggested, not without plausibility, that the "young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment" (Mark xvi, 5) may have been no other than Jesus himself, indistinctly seen in the dimly lighted sepulcher by the women, who as yet had no thought of the possibility of a resurrection.

of a human body from the place in which it had been laid was a phenomenon which the disciples were certainly competent to observe. Assuming it to be substantially certain that the sepulcher was found empty on the Easter morning, we may remark that the faith in the resurrection derives some incidental confirmation from the impossibility of constructing any plausible hypothesis of the abduction of the body. It is difficult to imagine any motive which could have induced either friends or enemies of Jesus to attempt the removal and concealment of the body, even had there been no serious difficulties in the way of the accomplishment of such a design. This consideration derives some additional importance from the fact that, within a few weeks after the alleged event, the resurrection of Jesus was publicly proclaimed, and believed by multitudes, in Jerusalem —the very place where, if anywhere, evidence of the fact might have been forthcoming, if the body had been stolen from the grave.

We have referred to the unquestionably early date of the First Epistle to the Corinthians as being important in proving that the faith in the resurrection was not slowly developed after the contemporaries of Jesus had passed away. That date is, however, by no means the earliest period to which we can trace back the belief in the resurrection. There are indications that, by an apparently spontaneous and instinctive movement, the celebration of the first day of the week, or the Lord's Day, as a distinctively Christian festival, was established at a very early period in the apostolic age. It is evident that the Lord's Day was not regarded as a modification of the Jewish Sabbath, but as an altogether new institution. It was a joyous commemoration of that day which the Christian consciousness recognized as the birthday of the Church. The institution of the Lord's Day is, therefore, a most eloquent witness to the faith of the first generation of Christians in the resurrection.

But we need not depend on any document or institution to show that the belief in the resurrection goes back to the beginning of the history of the Church. The very existence of the Church is an unimpeachable testimony to the same effect. But for the faith in the resurrection the Church would have died with its Master and been buried in his tomb. "We trusted," said the disciples on the way to Emmaus, "that it had been he

which should have redeemed Israel." But that trust was in the past tense. The death and burial of Jesus utterly destroyed the crude and unintelligent faith in the Messiahship of Jesus which the disciples had cherished, and they had nothing to take its place. They were utterly disheartened; and, in the loss of their Master, the bond was broken which bound them to each other. What was it that transformed these heart-broken, aimless men, with no common interest but the memory of a dead hope, into a firmly united, courageous band, ready to attempt at once the conquest of the world? It was the faith in the resurrection that wrought that transformation. The Church itself is the monument of the epoch-making event which produced that faith and, thereby, gave the initiative to the course of Christian history. But what was that event? If Jesus did actually rise from the dead and appear unto Cephas and the twelve and the five hundred brethren, then all else is clear. The one great mystery of the resurrection explains all other mysteries. We have a sufficient cause for the transformation of character in the disciples and for all the subsequent course of history. But, if he did not rise from the dead, what was the event which happened on that Easter Day and which created the faith in the resurrection?

The answer which perhaps at present is most commonly given to this question, by those who deny the reality of the resurrection, is that the origin of the faith was in a vision or hallucination, which was experienced, at first, by a few of the more imaginative of the disciples, by whom, gradually, a sympathetic delusion was induced in others. As this theory has been developed by Renan, the credit of originating the notion of the resurrection is given to Mary Magdalene. The mental malady of which she had been healed had left her imagination in a peculiarly excitable condition. The faith which has regenerated humanity accordingly had its origin as a pathological symptom in the brain of a half-crazy woman. Instead of being shocked at this conclusion, Renan seems to find in it something peculiarly sweet to his aesthetic sensibilities; and, with that curious sentimentalism which gives to all his writings an air of indifference to truth and essential unmorality, he exclaims, "Divine power of love! sacred moments in which the passion of a hallucinated woman gives to the world a risen God!"

The first suggestion of the resurrection came from Mary Magdalene; but others were destined soon to share the same delusion. So contagious, indeed, was Mary's faith and enthusiasm that some of the disciples imagined they saw the risen Lord that same day in Jerusalem. But the visions became more frequent when, a few days later, the apostles returned to Galilee. They lingered around the beautiful lake, where every village and every hillside was linked by fond association in their minds with the memory of Jesus, where the blue waters seemed still to mirror his serene face, and the very air seemed still pulsating with the music of his voice. As they lingered amid those scenes, their minds fell more and more under the spell of those fond memories, till one and another seemed to himself to see the loved form of the Master and to hear his voice. And the hallucination of some became the faith of all the disciples.

But, if the appearance of the risen Lord was a delusion or hallucination, it was certainly a most peculiar one. The natural history of hallucinations has been extensively studied, and their laws are pretty well understood. Somewhat of the history of this particular delusion, if it was one, we can gather from the biblical narratives. The honesty of those narratives is unimpeachable. Even on the theory of hallucination we may assume that we have a substantially veracious, though uneristic, narrative of the subjective experiences of the disciples. So far as we can thus trace the history of this delusion, it seems to have been of a very exceptional sort. A delusion is usually preceded by a state of strongly excited expectancy. The person sees what he has been made to believe he will see. But in this case there was no such expectation. The death of Jesus plunged the disciples into utter despair. Whatever he had said about his death and resurrection had been so completely at variance with all their prepossessions that it had made no impression on their stolid unbelief. When Mary found the sepulcher empty she could only think that some one had taken away the body and laid it she knew not where. The reports of the women to the apostles "seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not." The mental attitude of the disciples was the very opposite of that state of expectant attention in which hallucinations most frequently originate.

A delusion most commonly affects only a single individual. Shakespeare is psychologically correct in making Banquo's ghost invisible to the rest of the company, though profoundly real to the guilty fears of Macbeth. But in this case the delusion affected simultaneously considerable numbers of persons—in one instance over five hundred—including, doubtless, men of all varieties of temperament, hopeful and despondent, imaginative and prosaic. All saw the same blessed vision. In the cases in which delusions have become epidemic and affected considerable numbers of persons, they have generally had a history extending over some months or years, in which they have gradually become prevalent and as gradually declined. In this case there was no such gradual development. The faith of the apostles, excepting Thomas, in the reality of the resurrection was established before the close of the Easter Day. The appearances reported are few in number, and all were comprised within the space of forty days. After that short period the risen Jesus vanishes forever. Whatever fantastic visions appeared to the imagination of more or less fanatical Christians, the risen Jesus walked the earth no more. The delusion vanished as suddenly as it came. The dream was dreamed out in forty days.

A delusion generally affects a single sense—most commonly sight or hearing; and the delusion of sight is shown to be such by the failure of the tactual sensations which would be experienced if the supposed objective cause of the visual sensations were real. When the hand cannot clutch the air-drawn dagger the dagger is only "a dagger of the mind."* In this case, apparently, the tactual sensations corresponded with the visual. The writers of the transparently artless narratives have unconsciously reported the results of the very experiment which a physiological psychologist would have wished to try. The women, says Matthew, "took hold of his feet."† Had the visual sensation been a delusion, the hands would have grasped only air. To the terrified apostles, who "supposed that they had seen a spirit," Jesus said, according to Luke's report, "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me and see;

* An interesting illustration of this principle is seen in the case of Mrs. A., reported in Huxley's *Human Physiology*, Appendix B.

† Revised Version—here, as usually, more accurate than the Authorized Version.

for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." And John's faithful memory has preserved the story how the doubting Thomas had his doubts set at rest when Jesus gave him the evidence which he demanded—"Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side."

We realize fully the difficulties which the thought of the present age must find in accepting the faith in the resurrection. We see the solemn procession of the generations marching into

The undiscovered country from whose bourn
No traveler returns.

We realize the enormous improbability of an exception to a law sustained by so immense a mass of accordant experience. But, when we think of the alternatives to belief in the resurrection, they all seem so much more improbable that we find it easier to accept the one mystery which explains all mysteries. To believe that the faith in the resurrection was a delusion so contradicting all psychological laws, or a myth which was fully developed in a single day, or a falsehood perpetrated by the disciples to bring upon themselves imprisonment and death—to believe that the system of religious faith which has created a new and nobler civilization had its origin in fraud or self-deception —taxes our credulity more than to believe that Jesus rose from the dead.

Wm. North Rice.

ART. II.—SCOPE AND METHODS OF CHRISTIAN DOGMATICS.

CHRISTIAN theology is a progressive and improvable science. While its fundamental truths are forever the same, the apprehension and expression of them vary as the centuries go on. The classification of the several branches of theology into distinct and well-defined departments has become a science in itself, and is known as theological encyclopedia. Most authorities now agree in arranging all theological studies under the four categories of exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical theology. It is probable that comparative theology will in the near future be recognized as another department coordinate with the four just named. Each of these is capable of subdivision; and the more one looks over the whole field and studies in detail the different parts the more apparent it becomes that each important subdivision demands separate and distinctive treatment. It is the purpose of this article to discuss the legitimate scope and methods of one of the subdivisions of systematic theology.

I. Our first concern is to find the name most suitable for that branch of theological study which treats of the doctrines of Christianity. The single word "theology" is altogether too general and comprehensive a term. An exposition of Job or of Isaiah, a history of the councils of the Church, a treatise on ethics or homiletics or apologetics may all claim to be works on theology. The term "systematic theology" has been employed, and not a few able works on Christian doctrine have assumed this title; but the words have such a firm place in theological encyclopedia as the name of an entire department of theological studies that it is quite unsatisfactory, not to say improper, to apply the general title to one of its acknowledged subdivisions. A work on homiletics might with equal propriety assume the title of "practical theology." The Germans have the very expressive word *Glaubenslehre*, which means *doctrine of faith* or *system of religious belief*; but we have no one or two English words that would serve as a satisfactory equivalent. A phrase like "the doctrines of Christianity" or "system of Christian doctrine" would be a simple and transparent title,

and cannot be condemned as subject to reasonable objection. But many will prefer a single word, if such can be found; and the technical term "dogmatics," now widely used for the purpose, appears to be free from any serious objection, and is sufficiently specific to meet the requirements of a defining title. A qualifying word may be added if one desires a closer definition. Biblical dogmatics limits itself to the teachings of the canonical Scriptures, traces the genesis and progress of doctrines, and makes special note of the various types of doctrine discernible among the different biblical writers. Ecclesiastical dogmatics takes account of the creeds and confessions of Christendom and follows the history of the several dogmas. The term "Christian dogmatics" is more general, and yet sufficiently specific to denote the scientific treatment of what a writer believes to be the essential doctrines of Christianity. Ecclesiastical dogmatics belongs more properly to the department of historical theology.¹ But Christian dogmatics must include and rest upon the real teachings of the Holy Scriptures; and there is, therefore, much less reason for distinguishing it from biblical dogmatics. It may largely appropriate philosophical and historical elements, so far as these conduce to a clearer exposition of biblical doctrine; but it must acknowledge as its primary and authoritative source the original documents of the Christian faith. We accordingly adopt the term "Christian dogmatics" as the most appropriate title for that branch of theology the scope and methods of which we proceed to consider.

II. By the legitimate scope of dogmatics we mean that range or compass of theological topics which a well-defined system of Christian dogma should attempt to cover. From this field we do not hesitate to exclude metaphysics, apologetics, and ethics. These may be treated as so many subdivisions of systematic theology, but not as departments of Christian doctrine.* It may be an open question whether ethics should not be transferred to the department of practical theology. It may also be affirmed that the subject of ecclesiastical polity has no proper

* "Apologetics," says Miley, "is not of the nature of a Christian doctrine. . . . Any sufficient reason for its inclusion might properly require a treatment of all questions of canonicity, textual integrity, higher criticism, genuineness, and authenticity. . . . Apologetics would thus become a disproportionate magnitude in a system of doctrine. Neither is ethics, especially theoretical or philosophical ethics, of the nature of a Christian doctrine."—*Systematic Theology*, vol. I, p. 54.

place among the doctrines of revealed religion. We find no obligatory form of Church government prescribed in the Holy Scriptures. So far as the Church and the sacraments and various means of grace are to be considered as doctrines, they fall legitimately under what is technically called soteriology, or the method of salvation. After ruling out the four subjects named above, there is still left an ample field for dogmatics. Its range of subject-matter is high as heaven and deep as hell and broad as the universe of God. It must treat of angels and principalities and powers, of things present and things to come, of the nature of man, the doctrine of human sinfulness, the redemption through Christ, the revelation of God the Father and the eternal Spirit. These surely afford scope enough for the most ambitious author.

A writer on Christian dogmatics is not at liberty to inculcate, as a proper part of his subject, doctrines which have no basis in the records of divine revelation. But he need not limit his inquiries to subjects which are acknowledged by all to be fundamental or important. Not a few tenets regarded as scriptural by thousands are either not so important or not so capable of proof but that other thousands decline to accept them. But a complete treatise on Christian doctrine not only has the right, but is bound, to set forth what its author believes to be the teaching of the Holy Scriptures. We may accordingly conclude that the proper limits of Christian dogmatics are fairly indicated in the well-known article which declares that "the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith." Dogmatics may treat many topics of secondary importance, but must confine itself to such doctrines as are believed to have a scriptural foundation.

III. Having determined the legitimate scope of our subject, it remains to consider the methods of arranging the several doctrines in organic unity. In scientific method modern writers may reasonably be expected to surpass the ancients. Progress in any department of theology is not to be seen in the discovery of new material, but in the formulation and exposition of the great truths which the Church has possessed from the beginning. Through all the Christian centuries these truths

have been variously stated and defended, and some doctrines have naturally received much more attention than others. Origen's treatise on fundamental doctrines (*De Principiis*) is the nearest approach to a comprehensive system of Christian belief to be found among the early fathers; but its four books of doctrine are without any well-defined logical order. Gregory of Nyssa's *Great Catechism* is of much less extent, and is more of an apology for the doctrines treated than an attempt to enunciate a system. The *Accurate Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, in four books and one hundred chapters, by John of Damascus, is disproportionate in the treatment of topics, and gives prominence to opinions of no value. Augustine's various treatises on Christian doctrine are monumental, but they furnish us no help in scientific method. The celebrated *Loci Communes* of Melanchthon, published in 1521, and Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which appeared fifteen years later, attempt no analytic or synthetic arrangement of subject-matter. The *Theological Institutes* of Francis Turretin, first published 1679-1685, surpass Calvin's work in logical arrangement; but they follow the catechetical method of questions and answers, and discuss the several doctrines after the order commonly found in the creeds and confessions of the Reformation period. They all naturally begin with the doctrine of God; but the other subjects follow according to no uniform order and are treated as so many independent topics, each to be studied by itself.

The broad-minded and irenical George Calixtus, in his *Epitome of Theology*, published in 1619, attempted a philosophical arrangement of the essential doctrines by reducing them to three fundamental inquiries. First, he asks after the object, or aim, of theological science, and finds the answer in all those topics which relate to the salvation and ultimate glory of man. Secondly, he finds the subject and necessity of his doctrines in the facts of creation and of human sinfulness. His third inquiry is into the means of securing the salvation and ultimate blessedness of man; and under this head he presents the mediation of Christ and the means of grace. This has been called the analytic method of procedure, and has some attractive features. It moves partly in the line of that dogmatic method which first propounds the great subject of salvation, and then inquires after "the

efficient cause," "the meritorious cause," "the instrumental cause," and "the final cause." Much of its substance may be traced back to Peter Lombard's *Four Books of Sentences*. The chief objection to Calixtus's method is not its analytical form, but the order of his inquiries. To begin a treatise of such scope with the subject of salvation and future blessedness is obviously awkward and unnatural.

The so-called "federal theology" produced a method of arranging all the doctrines of Christianity under the two great covenants of nature and of grace. But the system compelled its advocates to follow an historical, rather than a logical, order, involved no little repetition and confusion of thought, and may be considered obsolete for dogmatic purposes. Leydecker, in 1682, cast the federal theology in a trinitarian form by grouping all Christian doctrine under the three headings of "Father," "Son," and "Spirit." He has been followed in recent times by Marheineke and Martensen. This trinitarian method is attractive for its simplicity, but is incompatible with a proper use of defining terms, and leaves too much room for arbitrary fancies. Martensen, for example, treats the fall of man, human depravity, and guilt under the head of "The Doctrine of the Father;" and Marheineke discusses these same topics under the main caption "Of God the Son." A methodology which allows such looseness of construction can hardly commend itself to the logical mind.

As we come down to the more recent period we observe the increasing attention paid to the method of dogmatics. But the English and Scotch divines have, so far, produced comparatively little in the way of systematizing the doctrines of the Christian faith. They have furnished valuable expositions in such works as those of Burnet and Browne on the Thirty-nine Articles, Hill's *Lectures in Divinity*, and Dick's *Lectures on Theology*. Thomas Ridgley's *Body of Divinity* is a very comprehensive work, but consists of a series of lectures on the Westminster Catechism, and follows its order of questions and answers. None of these writers make any considerable improvement on the old topical method of Melanchthon and Calvin. The Wesleyans have the credit, so far as I know, of producing the only two English works on dogmatics which exhibit careful attention to scientific method. The first of these is the well-

known work of Richard Watson, completed in 1823. Under the general title of *Theological Institutes* he treats, in four parts, of "the evidences, doctrines, morals, and institutions of Christianity." The second division is given exclusively to doctrines, and constitutes more than one half of the entire work. We could wish that this section had been published as an independent volume. Its method is as follows :

PART FIRST.

Doctrines Relating to God.

1. Existence of God.
2. Attributes of God.
3. Persons of the Godhead.
 - (1) The Trinity.
 - (2) Divinity of Christ.
 - (3) Divine-human person of Christ.
 - (4) Personality and Deity of the Holy Ghost.

PART SECOND.

Doctrines Relating to Man.

1. Man's creation and sin.
 - (1) Man's primitive state.
 - (2) Fall of man.
 - (3) Results of the fall.

2. Redemption by Christ.

- (1) Principles of redemption.
- (2) Benefits of the atonement.
 - a. Justification.
 - b. Concomitants of justification—regeneration and adoption.
- (3) Extent of the atonement (long discussion of issues with Calvinism).
- (4) Further benefits of redemption.
 - a. Sanctification.
 - b. Right to pray.
 - c. Special providence.
 - d. Victory over death.
 - e. Immortality of the soul.
 - f. Resurrection of the body.

This is a simple and admirable arrangement of the doctrines of Christianity ; but too large space is given to polemical issues now obsolete, and the great topics of eschatology are passed over in a superficial manner. There is no formal discussion of final judgment and retribution, and one may fairly criticise the position of the section on the "Extent of the Atonement," thrown in between two coordinate sections on "Benefits of the Atonement" and "Further Benefits of Redemption." All that is embraced under benefits of the atonement ought to have been brought under one heading, and the chapter on the extent of the atonement might, with slight changes, have been made to follow immediately after the discussion of the principles of God's moral government.

The other English work above referred to is *A Compendium of Christian Theology*, by William Burt Pope. After thirty pages of "Preliminaries" and two hundred pages more on

"The Divine Rule of Faith," the author comes to dogmatics proper, and arranges his material in six sections, as follows:

1. GOD.

- (1) The existence and notion of God.
- (2) The divine essence and perfections.
- (3) The triune Name.
- (4) The attributes of God.

2. GOD AND THE CREATURE.

- (1) Creation.
- (2) Providence.

3. SIN.

- (1) Origin of sin in the universe and on earth.
- (2) Nature of sin.
- (3) Sin and redemption.
- (4) Original sin.

4. THE MEDIATORIAL MINISTRY.

- (1) The divine purpose of redemption.
- (2) The redemptional or economical Trinity.
- (3) The person of Christ.
- (4) The mediatorial work in its process.
 - a. The incarnation.
- (5) Historical manifestation of the Redeemer.

a. The two estates.

- b. The three offices.
- c. The Christ of prophecy.
- d. The Christ of fulfillment.
- e. The prophetic office.
- f. The priestly office.
- g. The regal office.
- (6) Names of the Redeemer.
- (7) The finished work.
- (8) The atonement in its results.

5. THE ADMINISTRATION OF REDEMPTION.

- (1) The Holy Spirit.
- (2) The Gospel vocation.
- (3) Preliminaries of salvation.
- (4) The state of salvation.
- (5) Christian righteousness.
- (6) Christian sonship.
- (7) Christian sanctification.
- (8) Tenure of covenant blessings.
- (9) Christian ethics.
- (10) The Church.

6. ESCHATOLOGY.

- (1) Death and the kingdom of the dead.
- (2) The day of Christ.
- (3) The consummation.

With all its commendable features this outline is open to criticism. The second main division, entitled "God and the Creature," and discussing the works and providence of God, should have been made a subsection of the first main division. The fourth and fifth divisions belong essentially together, and the treatment of them in two coordinate sections involves needless repetition and confusion. The history of dogmas, incorporated in this work, adds little to its value, and transcends the scope of dogmatics.

American theologians are clearly in advance of Great Britain in the production of masterly works on Christian dogmatics. We may point with justifiable pride to the systematic theologies of Charles Hodge (3 vols. 1871-1873), Miner Raymond (3 vols.

1877-1879), Augustus H. Strong (1886), William G. T. Shedd (2 vols., 1888, and a supplementary volume in 1894), and John Miley (2 vols. 1892-1894). How closely all these correspond in general outline is seen from the subjoined table:

HODGE: (1) Introduction. (2) Theology Proper. (3) Anthropology. (4) Soteriology. (5) Eschatology.

RAYMOND: (1) Apologetics. (2) Theology Proper. (3) Anthropology. (4) Soteriology. (5) Eschatology. (6) Ethics. (7) Ecclesiology.

STRONG: (1) Prolegomena. (2) Existence of God. (3) The Scriptures a Revelation from God. (4) The Nature, Decrees, and Works of God. (5) Anthropology. (6) Soteriology. (7) Ecclesiology. (8) Eschatology.

SHEDD: (1) Theological Introduction. (2) Bibliology. (3) Theology. (4) Anthropology. (5) Christology. (6) Soteriology. (7) Eschatology.

MILEY: (1) Theism. (2) Theology. (3) Anthropology. (4) Christology. (5) Soteriology. (6) Eschatology.

It will be seen that Hodge reduces his material to the fewest divisions. But the heading, "Theology Proper," which Raymond also adopts, is quite objectionable, and suggests that he also takes note of theology improper. Raymond's plan includes apologetics and ethics. Strong has, we think, damaged the constructive value of his able and comprehensive work by introducing the section on the Scriptures as a main division, and making it follow his discussion of the existence of God. All that it is in point for dogmatics to say about the Scriptures as a revelation of God might have been incorporated in his "Prolegomena." His second and fourth divisions might also have easily been brought under one more general heading. Shedd introduces the new word "bibliology," under which he discusses the inspiration, authenticity, credibility, and canonicity of the Old and New Testaments. These topics we have already shown to be no proper part of dogmatics. Of the five outlines given Miley's is least open to criticism. He has shown care to omit topics which are not of the nature of Christian doctrine, and the six main divisions of his work are arranged in a strictly logical order. But one may reasonably question his plan of making "Theism" and "Theology" two separate and co-ordinate divisions.

A treatise on Christian theology has been compiled from the unpublished lectures and sermons of Henry B. Smith,* and is so unique in its outline as to deserve particular mention. Its obvious aim is to exhibit a Christocentric scheme of doctrine, under three leading divisions :

I. ANTECEDENTS OF REDEMPTION.	2. Person of the Mediator.
1. Christian doctrine of God.	3. Work of the Mediator.
(1) Nature and attributes.	
(2) The Trinity.	
2. Christian cosmology.	
3. Christian anthropology.	
4. Christian hamartiology.	
II. THE REDEMPTION ITSELF.	
1. The incarnation.	
III. THE KINGDOM OF REDEMPTION.	
	1. Union of Christ and the individual.
	2. Union of Christ and his Church.
	3. Consummation of the kingdom of redemption.

This scheme was evidently born of a desire to group all Christian doctrine about the person and work of the Redeemer; but an examination of its details leads to a conviction that such a Christocentric methodology is more fanciful than useful. The terminology employed is not a natural or happy set of rubrics. The doctrines of God, of cosmology, and of anthropology are not properly indicated by the heading "Antecedents of Redemption." Under the third division we are shown how "the union of Christ and the individual believer is effected by the Holy Spirit," and the doctrines of predestination, election, the effectual call, justification, regeneration and repentance, sanctification and perfection are set forth as the operations of grace. But why should all these be discussed apart from "the redemption itself" and "the work of the Mediator," which are made to form another and coordinate division of the work?

In passing to the German writers on dogmatics we feel, at first, embarrassed with the burden of making a selection. The theologians of the land of Luther and Melanchthon display such a genius for analysis and synthesis, such breadth and minuteness of learning, such depth and originality of thought, and such inexhaustible fertility that they well deserve the palm of leadership. Their learned works on Christian doctrine may be numbered by the score; and yet they go right on producing tome after tome in all departments of theological

* *System of Christian Theology.* By Henry B. Smith, D.D. Edited by William S. Karr, D.D. New York, 1884.

encyclopedia, as if the world was never quite so much in need of enlightenment as now. Dorner's *System of Christian Doctrine* and the *Christian Dogmatics* of the Dutch theologian Van Oosterzee have been translated into English, and may serve for those who do not read German as specimens of the indefatigable research and ability of the Continental divines. In the limited space of this article we select a number of outlines from the dogmatical works of distinguished writers which have not been translated into our own tongue.

Schleiermacher deserves our first attention. Uniting in himself preeminent ability with scientific skill and great religious fervor, he has powerfully influenced German theology for three generations. In his work on dogmatics* he does not attempt to build upon the teachings of Scripture or by the processes of philosophical speculation, but he treats all evangelical doctrines as developed out of the feeling of absolute dependence upon God. This feeling is an indwelling element of the nature of man, and the creeds and confessions of Christendom are so many outward expressions of the Christian consciousness. The following outline will show the method of his work on the *Christian Faith*. After an introduction of one hundred and fifty-five pages he thus divides and subdivides:

PART FIRST.

Development of the Religious Feeling of Dependence.

1. Feeling of dependence common to all finite being.
 - (1) The creation.
 - (2) The preservation of all things.
2. Divine attributes exhibited in the feeling of dependence.
 - (1) Eternity of God.
 - (2) Omnipresence of God.
 - (3) Omnipotence of God.
 - (4) Omniscience of God.
3. The constitution of the world as made known in the feeling of dependence.
 - (1) Original perfection of nature in respect to man.
 - (2) Original perfection of man.

PART SECOND.

Development of the Indwelling Consciousness of God.

- I. Development of the Consciousness of Sin.
 1. The sinful state of man.
 - (1) Original sin.
 - (2) Actual sin.
 2. The constitution of the world in respect to sin and evil.
 3. Divine attributes which have respect to sin and evil.
 - (1) Holiness of God.
 - (2) Righteousness of God.
- II. Development of the Consciousness of Grace.
 1. Condition of the Christian so

**Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche im Zusammenhange dargestellt.* 2 vols. Reutlingen, 1828.

far as he is conscious of divine grace.

A. Of Christ.

- (1) The person of Christ.
- (2) The work of Christ.

B. The manner in which redemption is appropriated in the soul.

- (1) Regeneration, justification, and conversion.
- (2) Sanctification.

2. The constitution of the world in respect to redemption.

A. Origin of the Church.

- (1) Election.
- (2) The Holy Spirit.

B. Continuance of the Church in the world.

i. Essential and unchangeable characteristics of the Church.

(1) The Holy Scriptures.

(2) The ministry of the word.

(3) Holy baptism.

(4) The holy supper.

(5) Office of the keys.

(6) Prayer in the name of Jesus.

ii. Changeable features in the Church because of its contact with the world.

- (1) The visible and invisible Church.
- (2) Infallibility of the Church.
- (3) The consummation of the Church.

3. Divine attributes which have respect to redemption.

- (1) Divine love.
- (2) Divine wisdom.

[Appendix on the doctrine of the Trinity.]

August Hahn's *Compendium of the Christian Faith** has the following divisions and subdivisions:

INTRODUCTION.

1. Of religion.
2. Of theology in general and dogmatics in particular.
3. Of the Holy Scriptures as the source of Christian doctrine.

SECOND PART.

Anthropology.

1. Doctrine of man in general, and of his original state.
2. Doctrine of man in the state of corruption.

THIRD PART.

Soteriology.

1. Christology.
- (1) The person of Jesus Christ.
- (2) The meritorious work of redemption by Jesus Christ.
- (3) The order of salvation, or soteriology in the narrower sense.

FOURTH PART.

Of the Church.

1. Idea and aim of the Church.
2. The means of grace.
- (1) The word of God.
- (2) The sacraments.

* *Lehrbuch des christlichen Glaubens.* 2 vols. 2d ed., Leipzig, 1858.

- 3. Government of the Church in its relation to the State.
- 4. Hopes of the Church—eschatology.
 - (1) Growth and final universality of the Church of Christ on earth.
 - (2) Life after death.
 - (3) The last judgment.
 - (4) End of the world and the blessed life in the kingdom of God.

Beck's *Lectures on Christian Doctrine** are in substance a biblical theology, and base the doctrines of the Christian faith on the fundamental idea of God as revealed in the Scriptures. The first volume is devoted entirely to *prolegomena* and introduction, and treats of philosophical principles, religion and revelation, miracles and prophecy, and other topics not relevant to our purpose. In his second volume he arranges the doctrines of revelation according to the following scheme:

FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINE OF GOD.

- 1. Cognizability of God.
- 2. Idea of God in the names "Elohim" and "Jehovah."
- 3. Father, Son, and Spirit.

FIRST SECTION.

The Divine Creation of the World, with its World Economy.

- 1. The origin of the world.
- 2. The continuance of the world.
- 3. Of the angels.
- 4. Of man.

SECOND SECTION.

The Apostasy of the World, with the Divine Economy of Law.

- 1. The origin of evil in general.
- 2. Apostasy in the unseen world, or the evil spirits.
- 3. The fall of man.
- 4. Sin in its propagation and development.
- 5. Of death, or the judgment of sin.

THIRD SECTION.

The Divine Reconciliation of the World with the Completed Economy of Grace.

- 1. The mediatorial nature of Christ.
- 2. The mediatorial life of Christ.
 - (1) In the exercise of his mediatorial office in the world.
 - (2) In his mediation in and after death.
- 3. The covenant-mediation in Christ.
 - (1) The essential conditions of the new covenant-mediation.
 - (2) Realization of the new covenant-mediation through a divine redemption of the world.
 - (3) The individualizing of the new covenant-mediation through justification.
- 4. Completion of the covenant.
 - (1) The appearance of the Lord.
 - (2) Effects of the appearance of the Lord—resurrection and judgment.
 - (3) The establishment of a new world-system.

* *Vorlesungen über christliche Glaubenslehre*, von J. T. Beck. Ed. Lindenmeyer. 2 vols., Gütersloh, 1887.

Lange's comprehensive treatise on Christian doctrine* displays the characteristic genius of the author by its division into "an organic triology" of philosophical, positive, and applied dogmatics. He manages to bring all the topics of positive dogmatics under the three heads of "Theology," "Soteriology," and "Pneumatology." After an introduction of twenty eight pages, he presents his subject-matter in the following form:

I. THEOLOGY, OR THE IDEAL CHRISTOLOGY.

1. Anthropological theology.
2. Theological anthropology.
3. Reciprocal action between God and man; or ideal Christology in the narrower sense.

II. SOTERIOLOGY, OR THE REAL CHRISTOLOGY.

1. The life of Jesus Christ.
2. Doctrine of the person of Christ.
3. The redemption of Jesus Christ.

III. PNEUMATOLOGY, OR THE UNIVERSAL CHRISTOLOGY.

1. Foundation and development

of the salvation and life of Christ in the sphere of individual life, or the order of salvation and glorification of man in Christ.

2. Foundation and development of the salvation and life of Christ in the sphere of social life, or the glorification of human society in the Church.

3. Foundation and development of the salvation and life of Christ in the cosmic sphere, or the final glorification of the world—eschatology.

Hase's Compendium of *Evangelical Protestant Dogmatics*† presents a condensed and somewhat novel scheme. After a short introduction on the theory and history of dogmatics, he divides his work into two principal parts, as follows:

I. ONTOLOGY.

1. Anthropology.
2. Theology.

II. CHRISTOLOGY.

1. Christ in history.
2. Christ in the inner life.
3. Christ in the Church.

This simple arrangement, however, failed to meet the demands of a complete discussion of evangelical doctrines; for the author added two appendices, on the subjects of eschatology and the Trinity.

But another and still more striking outline of the evangelical faith is furnished in Carl Immanuel Nitzsch's *System of Chris-*

**Christliche Dogmatik*, von Johann Peter Lange. 3 vols. Heidelberg, 1849-1852.

†*Evangelisch-protestantische Dogmatik*, von Carl August Hase. 6th ed., Leipzig, 1870.

tian Doctrine, in which we have the three rubrics of "Agathology," "Ponerology," and "Soteriology;"*

I. AGATHOLOGY, OR THE DOCTRINE OF THE GOOD.

1. Of God.
2. Of the creature.

II. PONEROLOGY, OR THE DOCTRINE OF THE BAD.

1. Of sin.
2. Of death.

III. SOTERIOLOGY, OR THE DOCTRINE OF SALVATION.

1. Established in the person of the Redeemer.
2. The appropriation of salvation.
3. The fellowship of salvation.
4. The completion of salvation.

One of the most recent German contributions to dogmatics is the able and comprehensive work of Friedrich A. B. Nitzsch.† The first part is devoted to the discussion of principles introductory to the study of the Christian system; and the second, entitled "Special Dogmatics," presents the doctrines in the following order of "Anthropology," "Theology," and "Christology:"

I. ANTHROPOLOGY.

1. Doctrine of man apart from sin.
2. Doctrine of human sinfulness.
(Doctrine of Satan.)

II. THEOLOGY.

1. Cognizability of God.
2. Nature of God.
3. Activities of God.
(Doctrine of angels.)
4. Attributes of God.
5. The Trinity.
6. Transition to Christology.

III. CHRISTOLOGY.

1. Foundation of the kingdom of God.
2. Conservation and appropriation of the kingdom of God.
 - (1) The Church and means of grace.
 - (2) Appropriation of salvation.
3. The completion of the kingdom of God.
 - (1) The coming of Christ.
 - (2) The resurrection of the dead.
 - (3) The judgment of the world.

A study of the foregoing outlines will show the importance of method in the treatment of Christian doctrine. That scheme which provides for all the essential dogmas under the fewest possible divisions is presumably the best method and the one to be sought after. Most of the systems reviewed, whatever the number and names of their several divisions, begin with the doctrine of God and conclude with eschatology. If an *a priori* method is assumed there is an

* *System der christlichen Lehre.* 6th ed., Bonn, 1851.

† *Lehrbuch der evangelischen Dogmatik.* Freiburg, 1892.

obvious logical propriety in this order; but why should dogmatics always be tied up to the assumptions and assertions which *a priori* modes of thought involve? Most sciences proceed in the opposite way, and first make note of facts and effects before inquiring after causes. Several of the dogmatical schemes which we have given above place the discussion of the doctrine of man before that of God. That of Professor Friedrich Nitzsch is especially suggestive and worthy of attention.

There is no propriety in discussing Christ before attention has been directed toward God and man; but it is not, on the other hand, possible to finish either the doctrine of God or of man without including Christ. The whole of the doctrine of the Trinity is left in the condition of an uncomprehended speculative problem if it be not prefaced by Christology.*

May it not be as truly affirmed that, in view of its mystery and relation to other doctrines, the subject of the Trinity should be left to the last place in a system of doctrine? All fundamental Christian truths are so interrelated that it is quite impossible to treat any one without some reference to other doctrines. It is hardly supposable that anyone now sets out either to read or write a treatise on dogmatics without some general knowledge of all the topics therein discussed. It cannot, therefore, be assumed as a matter of course that a treatise on Christian doctrine must needs begin with the concept of God.

Our American divines and some of the Germans seem to be overcome with a passion for the high-sounding words "bibliology," "theology," "cosmology," "angelology," "anthropology," "hamartiology," "Christology," "soteriology," "pneumatology," "ecclesiology," and "eschatology." Such a definite nomenclature has unquestionable value; but it has gone to an extreme that savors of a craze for Greek terminology. Here are eleven fine, sonorous words, and that would not be a bad method which treated all Christian doctrine under these eleven heads in the order we have placed them. Bibliology has as good a right to stay as ecclesiology. Cosmology and angelology deserve a rank coordinate with anthropology and eschatology. If it be claimed that hamartiology falls logically under anthropology, corresponding reasons may be given for including soteriology in Christology. It is, also, not difficult to see that

* *Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology. On the Basis of Hagenbach.* By George R. Crooks, D.D., and John F. Hurst, D.D. P. 422. New York, 1884.

ecclesiology and eschatology may be so included under other headings as to reduce the eleven rubrics to four main divisions, namely, theology, angelology, anthropology, and soteriology. And if one can show sufficient reason for denying angelology (including demonology) a rank coordinate with anthropology he may reduce the eleven to three. But, after all, may not the best scientific treatment of evangelical doctrine be compromised by persistent use of these technical terms? In the continuous flood of books it might perhaps be well, occasionally, to break away from stereotyped formulas as well as from *a priori* methods, and construct a system of Christian doctrine from some other point of view. Such a system might begin with the doctrine of man and present the facts of his natural constitution, his moral and religious nature, and his present sinful state. In the second place, the beginnings and development of spiritual life might be shown as actual experiences, realized and exhibited by innumerable Christian witnesses and taught among the most positive lessons of the Scriptures. For the facts of Christian life and experience may well be studied as positive truths, apart from the deeper questions of their relation to the divine government of the world and the mysteries of the person and work of Christ.* A thorough examination of these facts of human experience and knowledge would presumably prepare the way for the presentation of God's relations to them; and so we would be led gradually and logically, by a kind of inductive process, to the investigation of the supernatural, the unseen, and the eternal.

We observe two tendencies at work in the more recent discussions of the doctrines of divine revelation. One is conspicuously nonbiblical and speculative. It delights in the tentative formulation of dogmatic propositions and in philosophical attempts to establish them by rational argument. Its logical tendency is to carry all questions of doctrine into the realm of theological metaphysics. The opposite tendency has developed into the science of "biblical theology," and cultivates a habit of minutely analyzing the books of the Bible in search of what it calls the genesis and progress of doctrines. This minute research has produced numerous valuable results which cannot

*Such a discussion of the spiritual life of man would naturally be of the nature of a philosophy of religion, and might best be studied first as a matter of historical fact.

be ignored. But some writers have magnified the different types of doctrine discernible in the sacred records so as to make them contradictory. The Pauline epistles are affirmed to teach doctrines irreconcileable with those of Peter and of John. Paul's theory of justification by faith is held to be directly controverted in the epistle of James. The Elohist documents of the Pentateuch are believed to contain a different doctrine of God from that which appears in the sections assigned to the Jehovah. We opine that the simplest, truest, and soundest system of Christian dogmatics may be constructed by avoiding the extremes of both these tendencies, appropriating what is really valuable in each, and showing that those doctrines which are most surely believed among us are preeminently biblical.

Milton S. Terry

ART. III.—ASSYRIA'S FIRST CONTACT WITH ISRAEL.

THE Semitic peoples have long been retreating before the irresistible forward movement of the Indo-European peoples. They who once held the great world empires have to-day no world power of the first magnitude. The brilliant civilization of the Moors in Spain went down before the Indo-European Spaniard, just as the glory of Carthage was trampled in the dust beneath Rome's iron heel. The arms of the Semite are no longer a threat to the world's peace; his ideas only are potent for good or ill. Of his future no man may speak with certainty. His retreat may be continued till his personality is swallowed up and lost; or some mighty impulse may hurl him once more in conquering might upon the Indo-European.

Though his future is thus doubtful and his present thus weak, his past forms humanity's greatest romance. The Semite, who is he? His period of preparation for a world career was probably spent in Arabia.* He is emphatically a man of the desert. Like the beautiful wild ass of the desert, "he scorned the tumult of the city" till his well-knit frame was ready for an herculean effort. But when the day came he swept out into Babylonia, conquered the land, and absorbed its civilization. From Babylonia was Assyria also possessed, and soon the cold mountain heights of Aram and the weltering hot Jordan valley were his. From southern Arabia he went into Egypt, and thence to the highlands of Ethiopia. Under changed conditions he took to the Mediterranean coasts of Africa; and soon fairest Andalusia was his also, and that to bless and not curse. Wherever he went he took culture along with the sword. The Levant is filled with his inscriptions, and the memory of the deeds he has wrought and the words he has spoken must continue while man endures. "Incontestably the best thoughts and principles—the most profound, the most propulsive, the most potential—that

* The question as to the original homeland of the Semites is still problematical. To the present writer Arabia is decidedly more probable than the other place suggested, namely, Central Asia. This is maintained by Sayce, Sprenger, Schrader, de Goeje, Wright, and many others, while Guidi and Hommel support the northern view. For clear statements of the argument for Arabia see Sayce, *Assyrian Grammar*, 1872, p. 13, and McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, New York, 1894, pp. 20-22. A résumé of all conflicting views is given in Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge, 1890, pp. 4, ff.

men have ever cherished have been conceived and elaborated in Semitic minds."* In the domain of religious thought his supremacy is at this hour beyond all the dreams of his most imaginative poet. Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Christianity are all Semitic; and the Indo-European has profited them nothing, save when he gave his strength to their wider diffusion. And the Indo-European now has no higher calling than this very diffusion of Semitic ideas.

But to propagate any of these religious demands of the Indo-European the possession of a sound knowledge of that faith. When the Englishman sets out to tell to the Chinese the story of Jesus and of his plan of salvation he must know Christianity in no mere surface fashion. He must know its history, know its origin, know its precursor—Judaism. How shall a man teach what he does not know, and how shall he know Christianity if he knows not Judaism, and how shall he know Judaism if he does not know all the peoples who touched Judaism in its history? There is no knowledge that the individual may acquire that will be foreign to his study of Christianity, for all knowledge is touched by this living faith. But no knowledge is of so great value as the knowledge of history. The history of Christ is fundamental. But behind his history is the history of Judaism, and behind the history of Judaism is the history of the mighty Semitic race. Both directly, in war, and indirectly, by far-reaching influences, the people of Israel were affected by the Assyrians and Babylonians; and the man who would know Israel must know these peoples. It was from Babylonia that Abraham came into Palestine; it was into Babylonia that the Jews went into an exile from which only a few returned to build the second temple and found a Church. Between those two great events there were numerous points of contact between the peoples of the Mesopotamian valley and the people of the promised land. In almost all of them the Assyrians and Babylonians were the aggressors, seeking ever to blot Israel from the face of the earth and to establish Assyrian rule over her territory.

To know the story of the successive campaigns waged by the Assyrians against Israel is to have the key to unlock the meaning of much that has been obscure in some of Israel's greatest

* McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, p. 7.

prophets. These noble and wondrously taught men saw God's hand in the history of the Assyrians, and viewed them as a God-sent scourge to punish the rebellious and idolatrous people of Israel and Judah. No man has ever painted the Assyrians so vividly, so faithfully as Isaiah : "They shall come with speed swiftly : none shall be weary nor stumble among them ; none shall slumber nor sleep ; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken : whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent ; their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind : their roaring shall be like a lion, they shall roar like young lions : yea, they shall roar, and lay hold of the prey, and carry it away safe, and there shall be none to deliver" (Isa. v, 26-29, Rev. Ver.). Those words were based on accurate knowledge of the Assyrians, and find their full justification in the oft-repeated phrases in which Assyrian annalists describe the movements of their armies. For many a passage in Isaiah, in Amos, in Micah, in Nahum the best commentary is a line quoted from some contemporary Assyrian inscription. Not that the profound and life-giving ideas of the prophets are illustrated by the words of their neighbors, but rather that the conditions under which they lived and worked are made plain by the carefully kept records of Assyrian campaigns. But the historical writers of the Old Testament, as well as the prophets, are illustrated by the Assyrian inscriptions. Sometimes, the same event is told in the Old Testament and in the Assyrian annals, and when placed side by side the two narratives prove to be mutually complementary. To trace out all these parallels would require volumes. To set forth one of them, with all the materials for its perfect comprehension, is the object of this paper.

The advance of Assyria upon Israel was slow and methodical. The greatest masters of military occupation in the early Orient slowly acquired a sense of their own power and steadily but surely crushed out their opponents. At the end they became absolute masters of western Asia. It was natural that Israel should be among the latest of lands to be subdued, for peoples who were nearer to Nineveh must naturally be first overcome. Up to about the year B. C. 1500 Assyria was chiefly dependent upon Babylonia, from which it had been first occupied by Semites. From that time Assyria began to be a separate nation

and her career of growth and aggrandizement began. About the year B. C. 1480 Asshur-bel-nishēshu ("Asshur is lord of his people"), King of Assyria, and Karaindash, King of Babylon, defined very accurately the border between their respective kingdoms; and for some time peace reigned between the two lands. In the very nature of things, however, Assyria and Babylonia must be rivals for supremacy in western Asia; and soon the struggle began. In the varying fortunes of the next few centuries Assyria was at times the leader, and at other times Babylonia held first place. During these early centuries the capital of Assyria was the ancient city of Asshur. When Assyrian power began to extend northward by conquest, and when Babylonian arms were ever beating against its southern border, Asshur was found to be too far from the geographical center and too near to Babylonian aggression. In the reign of Shalmaneser I (about B. C. 1300) Kalchi* became the residence of the Assyrian kings, and so remained until the reign of Sargon (B. C. 722-705), when Nineveh, its ancient and near-by neighbor, became the residence city of the kings. From B. C. 1300 to 1120 the conquests of Assyria were not of the first importance. The giant was consolidating his strength and preparing for the making of an empire.

But in the year B. C. 1120 the time had come, for in that year Tiglath-pileser I ascended the throne, and for five years carried on a series of campaigns against the North and West which not only produced enormous wealth from tribute, but added great sections of rich territory to the empire. He pushed the borders of Assyria to the edge of Lake Van in the north, and then pressed westward along that parallel until he reached the Mediterranean, north of the Phoenician States. Still farther to the west and north, even into Cappadocia, were the Assyrian borders extended, and other lands, not directly annexed, were forced to pay heavy tribute. His own summing up of the

* Biblical Calah (Gen. x, 11, 12). Kalchi was not the capital during this entire period, for Asshur-bel-kala (circa B. C. 1000) removed the capital to Nineveh, and Asshur-naṣir-pal (885-860) returned it. See Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (1892), p. 145, and compare the articles by Schrader on Calach and Nineveh in Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des bibl. Alt.*, 2te Auf. (1893). On Nineveh and all its surrounding cities it is now possible to refer to a thoroughly scientific paper written by an Assyriologist, in collaboration with a competent engineer who knows thoroughly the entire surrounding country. See Billerbeck and Jeremias, "Der Untergang Nineveh's und die Weissagungsschrift des Nahum von Elkisch," in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, band III, pp. 87-188, Leipzig, 1895.

results of these great campaigns is striking. "In all, forty-two countries and their princes, from the far side of the Lower Zab, the boundary of distant mountains, unto the far side of the Euphrates, the land of the Hittites, and the upper sea of the West, from the beginning of my rule until the fifth year of my reign, my hand has conquered; of one mind I made them all; their hostages have I taken, tribute and fines I laid upon them."* Though Tiglath-pileser came out, probably, to the Mediterranean on one of these campaigns, it was far to the north of Israel, and only the rumble of his distant chariots reached the chosen people. Had this empire, thus formed by the Assyrians, held together, Israel would sooner have felt the iron hand than it actually did. A period of peace, however, followed the conquests of Tiglath-pileser, and many of his gains in territory were subsequently lost. During this period the Hittites, the Aramaeans, and the Hebrews all developed into stronger nations. Assyria did not threaten their life. The contest with Babylon and internal dissensions had so weakened her that she was no longer a menace to the peace of the West. For Assyria a new life was necessary; and it came in the person of Asshur-naçir-pal† ("Asshur protects the son"), who reigned from B. C. 885-860. He was a worthy successor of Tiglath-pileser I, and speedily carried the borders of Assyria to the extreme limits attained by that great founder, and then overpassed them. Northern Syria also submitted to the Assyrian yoke, and the Assyrian empire extended to the Mediterranean Sea.

But even yet southern Syria and Israel had not been overrun. That was reserved for his son and successor, Shalmaneser II ("Shalman is prince"), who reigned from B. C. 860-825. In his reign for the first time Israel felt directly the shock of the Assyrian advance. During his long reign Jehoshaphat, Joram, Ahaziah, and Joash reigned in Judah, and Ahab, Joram, and Jehu reigned in Israel. His elaborate inscriptions are of priceless value to the Old Testament student, for they

* Prism inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, col. vi, lines 39-48, quoted by McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, p. 221. See Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglath-pileser's I.* Leipzig, 1880, pp. 50, 51, and also p. 157; and, further, compare Winckler's translation in *Keilinschrifliche Bibliothek*, vol. i, p. 37. One phrase is difficult, namely, that above rendered "of one mind I made them all." McCurdy translates it very literally, "One mouth I made them all," but in a footnote explains, "He made them of one consent [to obey Asshur]."

† The ç in this name represents y. This is unsatisfactory from a scientific viewpoint; but the dotted s is not obtainable.

narrate at length events which are only lightly touched in the Scriptures, and give, also, sure chronological *data* with which to correct the system of Archbishop Ussher. In the year B. C. 854 came the first great clash of arms between Assyria and Israel. Shalmaneser had spent five years of his reign in successful campaigns against the lands about the head waters of the Euphrates and the territory along the Mediterranean in northern Syria. In the sixth year of his reign he again invaded the West. The power of his arms was now widely known in the West. No single people dared hope to oppose him successfully. The Aramaeans, the people of Damascus, the Hebrews, and all others, large and small, must forget their differences and unite in a confederacy against him. The chief peoples engaged in this union were Hamath, Damascus, and Israel. To them were added small companies from Que (eastern Cilicia) and Muqri (western Cappadocia), and larger ones from the northern Phoenician cities, with detachments of Ammonites and Arabs. The leader of Israel in this great effort was Ahab.* At the village of Qarqar† the battle was joined.

It was in the main an Assyrian victory. That was inevitable. But it was not so decisive a victory that Shalmaneser was able to follow it up and at once annex the lands of the confederates to Assyria. It was, indeed, five years before he again invaded these lands. The confederacy had been measurably successful. Shalmaneser's own story of the great battle is told in the inscriptions numbered I and II in the selection of inscriptions which follow in the appendix to this paper. They form in

* In the inscriptions of Shalmaneser this Ahab is called *Akhabbu Sir-'-la-ai*, that is, Ahab the Israelite. In the early days of Assyrian studies it was contended by some that this was not Ahab of Israel, but that *Sir-'-la-ai* must represent some other place with the name of Siria or Suria. All doubts as to the exact reading of the text upon the stone were set at rest by Delitzsch, who showed conclusively that the stone read *Sir* and not *Sur*, as Haigh and George Smith had suggested. Wellhausen (*Jahrbücher für d. Th.*, xx, p. 627) had also found a difficulty in the historical reconciliation of Kings and the inscription. All these difficulties were thoroughly sifted and completely solved in Schrader's masterly discussion of the matter (*Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, Giessen, 1878, pp. 359-364). In the *Methodist Review* (1889, pp. 711-724), Dr. Joseph Horner has attempted again to cast discredit on this identification. He suggests that the place intended by the gentile *Sir-'-ai* is Sir. This is, of course, impossible, for the simple reason that Dr. Horner has omitted altogether the consonant *l* and the guttural which precedes it; and his attempt to locate this Sir on Kiepert's map is, therefore, worthless. Schrader's paper settled the question, and all recent work but emphasizes the truth of his conclusions. The usual Assyrian gentile adjective is now well known to be of this form, and *Sir-'-ai* correctly reproduces the stem consonants of "Israel." See further on this point in the "Arena," in the present number of the *Review*, a note replying to Dr. Horner.

† In the writing of this word *q* represents *p*. The dotted *k* would be preferable.

themselves a very interesting specimen of Assyrian historical style. The facts narrated in them are easily reconcilable with the narratives of the Book of Kings. One point only requires a word of explanation. The question to be solved is, What part of the biblical story is it to which this battle belongs? It is, unfortunately, impossible to be absolutely certain of the answer to this question. Decidedly the most probable location of it is in 1 Kings xx, where, at verse 34, we are informed of a compact between Ben-hadad and Ahab, by which the latter was permitted to hold a special bazaar at Damascus, and was also granted the cities which the Syrians had taken from Omri. Here is a point in the history when friendliness existed between the people of Damascus and the people of Israel; and no other time is so suitable. Of the date B. C. 854 there can be no doubt whatever. The only question is as to where that date falls in Ahab's life. The matter is important, for its settlement gives us a certain date in the kingdom of Israel by which we can reckon both forward and backward. It fixes the death of Ahab at B. C. 853, for he died two years after the battle of Aphek, which must have been fought in B. C. 855 (1 Kings xxii, 1, *ff.*).*

The year 850-849 found Shalmaneser II again invading the westland. Again he was opposed by a confederacy led by Ben-hadad. This time Israel had no share in the defense, for Joram (852-842) was too weak to engage in the contest. Had it not been that all the energies of Ben-hadad were absorbed in the life-and-death struggle with Assyria, Damascus would have been able to overwhelm Israel at this time. Shalmaneser's version of this campaign is given in the inscriptions numbered III and IV in the appendix.

In 846 Shalmaneser made another expedition, with much the same result as the one just preceding. Israel was not concerned in it, and for the same reason. The Assyrian was beating, in successive blows, against the powers in Syria and Palestine. In the end he must triumph, but more than a century of war would yet be necessary. The story of his campaign is told by Shalmaneser in inscriptions V and VI of the appendix.

In 843 Shalmaneser was again in the West, but this time was

* It is, of course, not for one moment intended to convey the impression that this fixed date removes all difficulties in the vexed question of Hebrew chronology. It is, however, one fixed date, and that is useful.

engaged, not in conquest, but in the cutting of cedar timber on the Amanus.* This journey may be here passed over, for Israel was not influenced by it.

In 842 the great king again came into the West, but this time he found new rulers in Damascus and in Israel. Ben-hadad II, King of Damascus, was dead, and the cruel Hazael was on the throne. Israel was ruled by the usurper Jehu. The valiant Ahab was gone, and bravery was supplanted by feeble diplomacy. Hazael fought like a man, and, defeated though he was, he was not undone; and Shalmaneser could not yet take Damascus, but must content himself with ravaging its borders. Jehu had not the courage to fight. Hearing of the approach of Shalmaneser, he thought to win his support against the Syrians by the making of costly presents to the Assyrian king. It was a fatal blunder. Better to have gone down crushed in a manly, defensive war than to have given the Assyrians the first grip upon the fortunes of Israel. Better still to have relied upon Israel's hope and Israel's God. It is only a word that Shalmaneser has to speak of Jehu, and it is written in VIII and IX of the inscriptions herewith printed.

We have told in outline the story of the beginnings of the Assyrian conquest of Israel. It is a melancholy story. The progress of it to its ultimate conclusion in the fall of Samaria, in B. C. 722, is another story. The student of the Old Testament who will study carefully the translations that follow, and set them in comparison with the Scripture story, will have his respect for the historical value of the Book of Kings newly quickened, and his impression of an important period of the history of Israel much vivified.

SELECTIONS FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SHALMANESER II.

The translations which follow are made from the following monuments of this king :

I. The Black Obelisk. This beautiful monument of black marble was found by Layard in the central palace of Shalmaneser II, at the modern mound of Koyunjik. The whole four faces are covered with inscriptions beautifully cut into the solid stone and, in some cases, accompanied by well-executed pictures of the objects which the king had received as gifts

* Compare below Inscription IV, 41.

or in payment of tribute. It is, indeed, a sort of *édition de luxe* of the annals of the great warrior. It is now preserved in the British Museum. The original text has been several times republished since the first edition by Layard.* It has been translated into French by Oppert and Menant, into German by Winckler, and into English by Sayee and Scheil. The portions here given are directly translated from the original texts, after repeated personal consultation and collating of the monument in the British Museum.

II. The Monolith Inscription. This text was found in the ruins of Kurkh. It contains a portrait of the king, covered with two columns of writing. The monument has suffered somewhat from exposure, but the writing is, for the most part, well preserved. Though it tells of the same events as are described upon the Black Obelisk, it is, nevertheless, of great value, because the story is often told upon it at greater length, and it thus becomes supplementary. It was first published by Rawlinson, in the *Inscriptions of Western Asia* (London, 1870), vol. iii, plate 7, *ff.* It has been translated into French by Menant, into German by Peiser, and into English by Sayee and Craig. The latter carefully collated the whole text and corrected many previous mistakes. The translations here given, while directly from the originals, owe much to his work.

III. The Bull Inscriptions. These colossal monuments were also found by Layard in the central palace at Koyunjik. Parts only of them have been translated into German by Schrader and Winckler and into French by Scheil. No translations of importance have been made of them into other languages. The translations here given rest upon the text copies of Scheil, but the translations are original.

To those who are accustomed to the genuine literature of other languages these translations of inscriptions must necessarily seem bald and colorless. They are, indeed, not literature at all, but the raw material out of which literature has been finally fashioned among men. It is, however, but just to say that there is a fire and ring in them that has not been well preserved in translating. It would have been easy to translate them into modern phrase; but it seemed best to strive after fidel-

* Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments*. London, 1851. Plates, 87-97.

ity and accuracy. The student wants to have the exact words of the documents rather than their spirit. Numerous errors in commentaries and popular treatises can be directly traced to loose or so-called free translations of Assyrian texts. The inversions which appear in these translations are, it is true, un-English, and the texts would be fresher without them. But they are necessary in order to the preserving of the lines. In every case, in the following translations, the reader may be confident that the exact Assyrian lines have been preserved. Reference to the originals is, therefore, easy. For greater clearness the names of persons is printed in small capitals, and the names of places in italics. Numbers are always expressed in figures when they are so written on the monuments.

I. OBELISK INSCRIPTION. (B. C. 854.)

54. . . . In the sixth of my years of reign, to the cities on the banks of the *Balikh*
 55. I approached. *GIAMMU*, the lord of their cities, they had slain.
 56. I entered *Til-apli-akhi*.*
 57. I crossed the *Euphrates* at its flood.
 58. The tribute of the kings of the Hittite country,
 59. all of them, I received. In those days *DADDA-IDRI*,†
 60. King of *Damascus*, *IRKHULINA*, of *Hamath*, together with
 the kings
 61. of the Hittite country and of the seacoast, to their united forces
 62. trusted, and to make battle and war
 63. came against me. By the command of *ASSHUR*, the great
 lord, my lord,
 64. I fought with them, their defeat I accomplished.
 65. Their chariots, their saddle horses, their war material I took
 from them.
 66. 20,500 of their soldiers with arms I slew.

II. THE MONOLITH INSCRIPTION. COLUMN II. (B. C. 854.)

78. . . . In the eponymy of *DAIAN-ASSHUR*, in the month
 Airu, on the fourteenth day, from *Nineveh* I departed; I
 crossed the *Tigris*; to the cities of

* Tiele reads here *Til-Balakhe*, "the mound of Balikh;" Scheil reads *Til-Turakhe*.

† Hadad-ezer. This is Ben-hadad (II) of the Old Testament—1 Kings, xx. On the Assyrian form of the name see Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, Gießen, 1878, pp. 538, ff., and also his *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, pp. 193, ff., and 201, ff.

79. GIAMMU on the *Balikh* I approached. The fearfulness of my lordship (and) the splendor of my powerful arms they feared, and with their own arms GIAMMU, their lord, 80. they slew. *Kitlala* and *Til-sha-apli-akhi* I entered. My gods I brought into his temples, I made a feast in his palaces.

81. The treasury I opened, I saw his wealth ; his goods (and) his possessions I carried away ; to my city *Asshur** I brought (them). From *Kitlala* I departed ; to *Kar-Shulman-asharid*†

82. I approached. In boats of sheepskin I crossed the *Euphrates*, for the second time, at its flood. The tribute of the kings of that ‡ side of the *Euphrates*, of *SANGAR*,

83. of *Carchemish*, of *KUNDASHPI*, of *Comagene*, of *ARAME*, the son of *GUSI*, of *LALLI*, the Melidæan, of *KHAIANI*, son of *Gabar*,

84. of *KALPARUDA*, the Patinian, of *KALPARUDA*, the Gurgumæan, silver, gold, lead, copper, (and) copper vessels,

85. in the city of *Asshur-utir-asbat*, on that side of the *Euphrates*, which (is) on the river *Sagar*, which (city) the Hittites call

86. *Pitru*, § I received. From the *Euphrates* I departed ; to *Khalman* || I approached. They feared my battle (and) embraced my feet.

87. Silver and gold I received as their tribute. Sacrifices I offered before *RAMMAN*, the god of *Khalman*. From *Khalman* I departed ; two cities

88. of *IRKHULINA*, the Hamathite, I approached. *Adennu*, *Mashga*, *Argana*, his royal city, I captured ; his booty, goods,

89. the possessions of his palaces I brought out (and) set fire to his palaces. From *Argana* I departed ; to *Qarqar* I approached.

90. *Qarqar*, his royal city, I wasted, destroyed, burned with fire. 1,200 chariots, 1,200 saddle horses, 20,000 men of *DADDA-IDRI*,

* This was the oldest of the capitals of Assyria, which held its position until Shalmaneser I (about B. C. 1300) transferred to Kalchi the royal residence. Winckler has suggested that this change was probably made because the position of Asshur was too far south and a more central city was desired for the capital.

† That is, Shalmaneser-town, a city founded by and named after the monarch.

‡ That is, the western bank.

§ Pethor.

|| Aleppo.

91. of *Damascus*; 700 chariots, 700 saddle horses, 10,000 men of *IRKHULINA*, the Hamathite; 2,000 chariots, 10,000 men of *AHAB*,
92. the Israelite; 500 men of the Quans; 1,000 men of the Egyptians (?); 10 chariots, 10,000 men of the Irkanatiens;
93. 200 men of *MATINU-BAAL*, the Arvadite; 200 men of the Usanatiens; 30 chariots, 10,000 men
94. of *ADUNU-BAAL*, the Shianian; 1,000 camels of *GINDIBU*, the Arabian; . . . 1,000 men
95. of *BAASHA*, son of *RUKHUBI*, the Ammonite—these 12* kings he took to his assistance; to make
96. battle and war against me they came. With the exalted power which *Asshur*, the lord, gave me, with the powerful arms which *NERGAL*, who goes before me,
97. had granted me, I fought with them, from *Qarqar* to *Gilzan* I accomplished their defeat. 14,000
98. of their warriors I slew with arms; like *RAMMAN*, I rained a deluge upon them, I strewed hither and yon their bodies,
99. I filled the face of the plain (?) with their widespread soldiers, with arms I made their blood flow. The destruction of the district
100. . . . ; to kill themselves a great mass fled to their graves. . . .
101. Without turning back I reached the *Orontes*. In the midst of this battle their chariots, saddle horses,
102. (and) their yoke horses I took from them.

III. OBELISK INSCRIPTION. (B. C. 850 and 849.)

85. In the tenth of my years of reign I crossed, for the eighth time, the *Euphrates* and captured the cities of *SANGAR*, of *Carchemish*.
86. To the cities of *ARAME* I approached, and *Arne*, his capital city, together with 100 of his cities, I captured.
87. In the eleventh of my years of reign I crossed, for the ninth time, the *Euphrates*. Cities without number I captured. To the cities of the Hittite country

* Only eleven confederates have been named, though the total is here given as twelve. Probably the scribe has accidentally omitted one name.

88. and of the Hamath country I descended and captured 89 cities. DADDA-IDRI, of *Damascus*, and 12 kings of the Hittite country*

89. ranged themselves side by side; their defeat I accomplished.

IV. BULL INSCRIPTION. BULL NO. I. (B. C. 850 and 849.)

29. . . . In the tenth of my years of reign

30. I crossed, for the eighth time, the *Euphrates*. The cities of SANGAR, of *Carchemish*, I wasted, destroyed, burned with fire. From the cities

31. of *Carchemish* I departed, and approached the cities of ARAME. Arne, his capital city, I captured, and 100 cities in its environs

32. I wasted, destroyed, burned with fire. I made a slaughter among them, and their prisoners I carried away. In those days trusted DADDA-IDRI, of *Damascus*, (and)

33. IRKHULINA, the Hamathite, together with 12 kings of the seacoast, to their united forces, and to make battle and war came against me.

34. With them I fought, their defeat I accomplished. Their chariots, their riding horses, their war material I took from them. They fled to save their lives.

35. In the eleventh of my years of reign from *Nineveh* I departed; I crossed, for the ninth time, the *Euphrates* at its flood. 97 villages of SANGAR I captured. 100 villages of ARAME

36. I captured, wasted, destroyed, burned with fire. To the bank of the *Amanus* I approached, the mountain country of *Jaraqu* I marched through, (and) climbed to the cities of the Hamathite;

37. the city *Ashtamaku*, with 97 villages, I captured. A slaughter I made among them, their prisoners I carried away. In those days trusted DADDA-IDRI, of *Damascus*, IRKHULINA, the Hamathite,

38. together with 12 kings of the seacoast, to their united forces, and to make battle and war came against me. With them I fought, their defeat

* As Professor Sayce has correctly pointed out, the Hittite country is here extended so as to include Syria, Palestine, and even northern Arabia.

39. I accomplished. 10,000 of their soldiers with arms I slew. Their chariots, their saddle horses, their war material I took from them. On my return the city *Apparasu*,

40. a fortress of ARAME, I captured. In those days the tribute of KALPARUNDI, of *Patin*, silver and gold, horses, oxen, sheep,

41. clothing, (and) garments I received. To the *Amanus* I climbed up, (and) cut beams of cedarwood.

V. OBELISK INSCRIPTION. (B. C. 846.)

91. . . . In the fourteenth of my years of reign I levied an army (and) crossed the *Euphrates*. 12 kings came against me.

92. I fought with them, their defeat I accomplished.

VI. BULL INSCRIPTION. BULL No. I. (B. C. 846.)

44. . . . In the fourteenth of my years of reign from the broad land I levied an army without number.

45. With 120,000 of my troops I crossed the *Euphrates* at its flood. In those days levied DADDA-IDRI, of *Damascus*, IRKHULINA, the Hamathite, together with

46. 12 kings of the seacoast above and below, their troops without number (and) came against me. With them I fought;

47. their defeat I accomplished, their chariots, . . . their war material I took from them. To save their lives they fled.

VII. OBELISK INSCRIPTION. (B. C. 842.)

97. . . . In the eighteenth of my years of reign I crossed, for the sixteenth time, the *Euphrates*. HAZAEL,

98. of *Damascus*, marched to battle. 1,121 of his chariots, 470 of his saddle horses, with

99. his camp, I took from him.

VIII. FRAGMENT OF AN ANNALISTIC INSCRIPTION. (B. C. 842.)

40. In the eighteenth of my years of reign, for the sixteenth time, the *Euphrates*

41. I crossed. HAZAEL, of *Damascus*,

42. to the multitude of his troops

43. trusted, and his troops
 44. in great numbers he levied.
 45. *Saniru*,* a mountain peak
 46. at the beginning of the *Lebanon*, for his fortress
 47. he made. With him I fought;
 48. his defeat I accomplished. 6,000
 49. of his soldiers with arms
 50. I slew. 1,121 of his chariots,
 51. 470 of his saddle horses, with his camp,
 52. I took from him. To save
 53. his life he went away. I pursued after him.
 54. In *Damascus*, his capital city, I shut him up.
 55. I cut down his parks (and) marched to the mountains
 56. of the *Hauran*. Cities
 57. without number I wasted, destroyed,
 58. burned with fire. Their prisoners
 59. without number I carried away.
 60. To the mountains of *Ba'li-ra'si*,
 61. by the sea, I marched. My royal statue
 62. I set up there.† In those days
 63. the tribute of the Tyrians,
 64. the Sidonians, and of *JEHU*,
 65. son of *OMRI*,‡ I received.

IX. OBELISK INSCRIPTION BENEATH ONE OF THE PICTURES.

(B. C. 842.)

The tribute of *JEHU*, son of *OMRI*: silver, gold, *shaplu* § of gold, *zuqut* § of gold, *kabuati* § of gold, *dalani* § of gold, lead, *khukuttu* § for the hand of a king, *budilkhati* § I received from him.

X. OBELISK INSCRIPTION. (B. C. 839.)

102. . . . In the twenty-first of my years of reign, I crossed, for the twenty-first time, the *Euphrates*. Against the cities

* Biblical, *Schenir* (Deut. iii, 9).

† To set up a king's statue was an expression of his sovereignty over the place.

‡ *Jeuh* was not a member of the house of *Omri*, but a usurper. He is mistakenly so called by the Assyrians, because they had their first knowledge of Israel when *Omri* was on the throne. Commonly thereafter they called Israel "the land of *Omri*," and the king "son of *Omri*." The name "Samaria" is, however, not unknown. Compare, for example, *Senacherib*, Taylor Inscription II, 47 (Rogers, *Records of the Past*, new series, vol. vi, p. 88).

§ The meaning of these Assyrian words is unknown or uncertain. Delitzsch thinks that *dalani* means "palls," but it is very uncertain. (Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1894, s.v.)

103. of HAZAEL, of *Damascus*, I marched. 4 of his cities I captured. The tribute of the Tyrians,
104. the Sidonians, the Byblians I received.

These selections are in most cases the same as have already been quoted by Schrader in his great book (*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2te Auflage, Giessen, 1882); and they are exactly the same as those given by Hugo Winckler in his useful manual (*Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testa-ment*, Leipzig, 1892). The author's obligations to them are herewith gladly expressed, though the translations are not based upon their work, but in every case on the original texts. Besides this, Winckler's book is entirely without explanatory notes and introductions. It may be well to add that these selections are complete, in the sense that they contain all the passages in Shalmeser's texts which cast any direct light upon the Old Testament. Ancient and unimpeachable witnesses are they to the soberness, carefulness, and solid historical work of the Books of Kings. Their discovery and decipherment have added new difficulties to our study of the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah, at the same time that they have given us new and definite dates. But the difficulties which they have solved are far greater than the new difficulties they have made. The boastful records of an Assyrian conqueror, who despised the Hebrews, have their deepest interest for those who have inherited Israel's sacred books. "This is the Lord's doing; and it is marvelous in our eyes."

Robert W. Rogers,

ART. IV.—PSYCHOLOGY *VERSUS* METAPHYSICS.

OF late there has been an estrangement between the two. The former, under the name of the new psychology, very eager and bright, bears itself with an obtrusive and saucy independence toward the mother science. This is unbecoming and unnatural, for a real separation is impossible. The statement, “*Psychology versus Metaphysics*,” implies more than mere juxtaposition in their relations; rather, antithesis and, possibly, antagonism—much as in the antique legal formula, “*John Doe versus Richard Roe*.” John and Richard are not simply joined in suit, but are opposed. But with such a construction the two sciences would be arrayed in unnatural war, like a child entering suit to overthrow its mother. In some recent presentations of the claims of the new psychology, as well as of other sciences, there is this species of antagonism, with a spirit of matricide as unwise as it is unnatural, ungrateful, and unscientific. Those who promote such strife resemble vicious people urging on a family fight. The true antithesis in the “*versus*” should rather resemble a suit in chancery to adjust amicably an estate, in which the parental will may be established and rightly settled upon the child, according to the law of the case. The boundary line in this case is more difficult to trace than that over which the British lion and American eagle have quarreled in past years; and it would require a more skillful commission to accurately adjust the lines between metaphysics and psychology than any that ever met over national boundaries.

Within the realm of psychology, used in the broader sense, there are three departments: 1. phenomena of mind, or scientific psychology; 2. laws of mind, called nomology, which belongs to the province of logic, but is not concerned in the antithesis of our discussion; 3. ontology, or being, inferential and general, in which realm lies the philosophy of spirit. Between the first and the third—that is, between the phenomena of mind, or so-called scientific psychology, and ontology, or the philosophy of mind—lies the contrast intended by “*Metaphysics versus Psychology*.”

For the purposes of discussion our distinction is more ideal than real, the separation being in thought rather than in fact;

the two are really inseparable. As there can be no physics without metaphysics, nor metaphysics without physics preceding, so there can be no psychics without metapsychics, nor yet any metapsychics (called, in this case, metaphysics) without psychics, or soul-facts. Just as we can have no peninsulas without continents to which they inhere, or bays without oceans to mother them, or planets without a solar system to house them, so there can be no scientific psychology without metaphysics, the mother of all. Antagonism or airy superiority on the part of our "new psychology," whether it be of a species psychological, neurological, or physiological, as based on soul-facts—all this quite prevalent in some laboratories, essays, booklets, and even textbooks—is callow and conceited, with a strong flavor of matri-cide. We know not an instance of this but that the very pretenders have strutted forth to the world, after all, in the garb of metaphysics, often of the sorriest kind, appearing in society clad in metaphysical raiment.

As in physics facts precede their philosophy, so in psychology, or soul science, facts go before their explanation and arrangement. But be it remembered that, in turn, the facts of physics are largely discovered by aid of the theories of metaphysics. Our philosophies organize our expectations and direct them into the realm where the facts are to be found. So in psychology, no new fact is seized upon in the laboratory but by the foresight and foreordination of the philosophy of psychology already in the field. No matter whether one be materialist, spiritualist, idealist, or realist, he reaches his conclusions by, and defends them with, metaphysical measures, and such as originate in the ontological and inferential department, which is metaphysics *par excellence*. The three departments of psychology—phenomenal, logical, and ontological—form one endless fugue, each in turn pursuing the other. It is an eternal round of search after new or old facts to furnish logic, to fill up metaphysics, then of search after more facts, to furnish more logic, to fill metaphysics, and so *ad infinitum*. A homely parable may illustrate. When I was a lad I knew three cows—White, Red, and Spot. In an encounter White drove Red, Red drove Spot, and Spot drove White. So metaphysics dominates logic, and logic dominates psychology, and psychology dominates metaphysics.

On account of this interdependence confusion may easily arise. A phenomenon is brought to light. Let us suppose it to be the affirmation that observation shows in a thousand cases the children of drunkards to be sober. Logic seizes upon the supposed fact and reasons, "If in a thousand cases an acquired tendency is nontransmissible, any number of acquired tendencies is nontransmissible; therefore, drunkenness, being an acquired tendency, is not transmissible." Logic, having thus seized upon the so-called fact, passes it over to metaphysics. Possibly it is assigned to the department of ethics; and at once may arise the proclamation, "Eat and drink, for to-morrow we die; heredity has no influence in the case of acquired habits." Or possibly the contrary verdict is heard, that the iniquity of the fathers is visited "upon the children, to the third and fourth generation." A council must be called. Judgment, we will say, presides; Will summons Logic into court; Conscience prosecutes; Memory is called as a witness; Imagination pleads the case. Logic is charged with a mistreatment of the fact and the false inference that any number of thousands can be judged from a given thousand. Some captious member of the assembly springs the question whether heredity contains a "tendency," or *vice versa*; or whether there be design in producing tendency or in preventing it; or whether the observation which discovered the fact was inspired by some design; or whether there was not design on the part of those who inspired the search for so-called facts. As a collateral there might be brought up the question of stronger motives, as commercial advantage to the liquor traffic, or the support of some psychological theory; and, lo! we have already arrived at "confusion confounded," which may be translated, "confounded confusion." Or, suppose it to be a case of ethnology, and one talks learnedly and calmly about "our arboreal ancestry," affirming that it is too plain to be doubted, because a monkey can climb, and so can a boy. Here, again, we are on the verge of metaphysics; for this is ontological in its very essence. Or, suppose it to be a question concerning our "molluscan ancestry." Immediately Logic takes up the case, and often argues as follows: "Such are some facts. There must be other like facts to prove our descent. If it is not so, how is it? Therefore, it is so."

Who that recalls his class room experiences does not remember his dismay at the strife about words and theories among the metaphysical giants, and how in his dismay he has inquired, "Who shall know the truth, where the champion authors in the field have been, and still are, arrayed against each other?" We have written to many of the heads of the philosophical departments in the various universities of the country, inquiring for the best text-book on psychology. It is significant and a little discouraging to learn that no good text is known, with the rather amusing remark appended, "Not, at least, until the work I am preparing shall appear." This confusion comes, in part, from the very greatness of the leaders. How difficult it is to determine exactly the direction in which Kant or Sir William Hamilton march! They remind one of a pair of great giants going through a forest full of vines and brambles and bearing all before them by their easy strength. It is very difficult for lesser men to follow. But it is thirty-eight years since Hamilton's march ended; and it is well that the new psychology has undertaken to disentangle the wilderness.

Metaphysics, having had charge of psychology for a long time, has been something of the traditional stepmother, and her ward has suffered many things. Growing out of this there has arisen the purpose on the part of science to deliver the child from this thraldom and adopt it; but before we approve of the transfer some precautionary considerations are worthy of attention. If metaphysics has been absurd, has not science, also? If metaphysics has soared away into the clouds of mysticism, until the child was dizzy, science, which now proposes to care for and train it, has rushed into some jungles which threaten to put the eyes out. If metaphysics has run into the dreamy wilderness of rationalism, science may lead the child off into the frozen regions of agnosticism. If metaphysics has gone into the ethereal world of transcendentalism, until the child was well-nigh starved, will not science lead her into the swamps of materialism and drown her in the slime amid tadpoles? If metaphysics has inquired how many angels could dance at one time on the point of a cambric needle, did not science once give us the four elements—earth, air, fire, and water—and then add phlogiston? If metaphysics has sometimes attempted to measure the universe, and even the Almighty, with her tapeline,

telling her children some absurd stories about heaven and hell, has not science mistaken a geode for a prehistorical skull or planted potatoes by the phases of the moon? If metaphysics has invented a law of association by which ideas follow one another in trains, like magnetic particles, binding the responsible soul in fatal chains of doom, has not scientific investigation, for thousands of years, blindly overlooked child nature?

Let there be no foolish strife, no swinging to extremes. Psychology is, indeed, at the early morning of a brighter day, unless it shall swing too far beyond its center, like a clock which we have whose vigorous action leads it to such extreme strokes as to finally destroy its own balance, thus coming to a stop. For example, Professor James has produced one of the most interesting and brilliant of treatises on scientific psychology, but has assumed an extremely scientific treatment, and has really landed in neurology. He closes his two splendid volumes with a frank confession of failure, and almost pathetically says, "We have no science of psychology—only a mass of facts, which await, as did astronomy, some Galileo to come and reduce them to a science." In his attempt at an avoidance of metaphysics he has really indulged in some sorry specimens of the same, and has broken down according to his own confession. Like all the wicked, he passed on and was punished.

Another homely metaphor may help our case. A wise pig was accustomed to invade the cornfield by crawling through a hollow log under the fence. The farmer turned the log so that both ends were outside the fence. His pigship crawled through and was surprised to find himself still outside the field. He tried again and again, and then reversed the process. Finding himself still outside, whether in disgust or in alarm, he betook himself in a wild race to the woods. The riches of soul, as well as of corn, are not reached by crawling back and forth through empty physical channels.

There is about this new psychology the powerful influence of novelty; for there are fashions in universities and colleges, in their games, regalia, curricula, and methods of instruction, wise and otherwise. There are new knowledge, new fields of research, and new methods in the old. So there are the new education and the new psychology—fascinating, aggressive, progressive, dogmatic, opinionated, and uncertain, like a boy

half transmuted into a man. How absurd to a boy seems the work and opinions of his sires! How amusing and interesting is he to them! One would imagine, from much we read and hear, that for the first time since Adam the discovery of the child had been made. That interesting novelty is now under sharp investigation. This is well. Let us have the facts about him. The cranium has been awarded a hundred measurements. The brain is tested to find whether it produces thought chemically or by discharge, or whether there may be something superior which is a mere resident amid the cells. Sense perception is tested; memory is measured; consciousness, will, the logical powers, conscience (if it can be found), the affections, and even the faith shall be subjected to scientific treatment, as no longer "the substance of things not seen." Let this go on eagerly, reverently. But it must bring home the facts to the storehouse, namely, to metaphysics, where they will be judged, interpreted, treasured, and adjusted to their relations. And still enterprising science will be sent forth on other expeditions for other treasures. Just as the trustees of the British Museum send forth scholars to all lands, who bring returns in anthropology and cosmogony for study and arrangement, so metaphysics, the supervising, philosophizing, organizing, and enlightening science, must treat the facts of psychology and of all knowledge. In order to do that, she must rearrange her own apartments, clear out and relight them, so as to accommodate the new facts. For as well might the Museum buildings in London, or our own Smithsonian in Washington, have remained as they were twenty years ago, hoping to be adequate to the demands of science.

Practically, metaphysics and the new psychology must go together, and there must be increased attention to both. This is more than a matter of pure ideals. It may be tested by an experiment on any well-adjusted college curriculum. Let the demand be made to eliminate the studies permeated with metaphysics and to draw a red line through such subjects. The result would resemble a crimsoned battlefield where most of the participants were slain. The educational value of metaphysical studies may well be illustrated by the giants whom it has nourished. Summon together such as Socrates, Aristotle, the "broad-browed" Plato; the Germans Kant, Schleiermacher,

and Herbart; the English contingent—Bacon, Locke, Mill, and Spencer; the great Scotchman, Hamilton, and his illustrious countrymen; our Edwards and Emerson, and our naturalized McCosh; nor must we omit one, at least, of the living, Borden P. Bowne, with blade so keen that it resembles the fatal sword which severed heads at a stroke unfelt—assemble these men, and let who will of the moderns dare to sneer at the sons of metaphysics! This is a matter of great practical importance. Educated men furnish the world's leaders, whether they be conspicuous or unseen; and the schools furnish the educated men. An unbalanced mind is a dangerous mind. Whatever in our plans of development produces such is bad for them and bad for society. There is just now a tendency to this distortion in our new education. No sane philosophy will deplore the keenest search for real or so-called facts; nor will it hasten to abdicate at each shout of acclaim at such discovery.

We Americans have been accustomed to hear of the "tottering thrones and effete monarchies of the Old World and their worn-out civilizations." They do totter into firmer and more enlightened governments, while we do as much "tottering" as they. So the new education and its boasted scientific method, with its toylike laboratories and its lectures *versus* textbooks, indulges in some of the same swagger, as if looking to see the philosophy of the outgrown past totter and fall, bringing destruction to the whole metaphysical world. Let this youthful spirit sober itself; for sanity among men who are molding the world is greatly needed. Out of Harvard and Princeton and their educational compeers came the unconquerable spirit of the Revolution and the talent that founded our republic. Out of her gymnasia and universities came Prussia and, finally, the German empire. Wittenberg and Oxford gave the Lutheran and the Wesleyan reformations. And the much-misunderstood nihilism of Russia has grown in the universities and is breaking down absolutism in the domains of the czar. Out of the thirteen millions of school children in this nation, and especially the one hundred thousand or so of college students, is arising the fate of this republic and of the twentieth century. We must make neither cynical iconoclasts nor hair-splitting logomachists. Over against the scientific journals the philosophical also must be reinforced. Over against sci-

tific departments in universities must be held firmly those that deal in metaphysics. Progress often is deceptive, especially when headed in the wrong direction. A brilliant pulpit lecturer led a church of nondescripts in a great western city a few years ago. First, he got rid of miracles from his creed; then, he drove out devils, and afterward angels of mercy; finally, he attempted it with God. His congregation thereupon dismissed him, and he betook him to the stage.

Is there any hint in this? Which way tends the new education? Material science did good service by rescuing much of our world from the supposed influence of gnomes, demons, gods great and small, good and bad. After that it invaded the stars, and substituted gravitation for supposed angel forces. Now it looks threateningly toward the throne itself. Looking manward, it has put on a cloak and cap and assumed the name of psychology. It has hunted the soul back of muscle and sensorium; it maps out the human faculties in patches of gray matter; it finds thought to consist in discharges by molecular or chemical action from matter; it cuts and probes, measures and weighs, until the scared soul seems hiding in its cell. This neurology, calling itself psychology, seizes the child, observes, notes, pries, theorizes, discovering how to mold, change, generate, and even regenerate. Should it continue, unless it be truth-loving and reverent, it may drive itself out, like the preacher, and may find its stage amid the flitting scenes of a fictitious universe, without soul or immortality. Recently a brilliant young biologist, of reverent spirit, said, in substance: "I believe we have assumed a sharpness of antithesis between mind and matter wholly unwarranted. I seem in the study of matter to come into very near approach with an obverse side of it, which is mind." That seems not far from pantheism; but was not pantheism near the truth? Are we not on the eve of a swing back again toward the things of the spirit, and do we not hear arising a cry, "Spare the soul of the child nor desecrate its holy of holies; for upon him who so sins is sure to fall the blight of the plague, whether he be priest or layman?"

Isaac Crook

ART. V.—OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD ROMAN CATHOLICS.

I AM one of those who hold that the attitude of Protestants toward the Roman Catholic Church should not always and everywhere be hostile. It is not an enemy of mankind. We would all be sorry to see it suddenly blotted out of existence where a pure form of Protestantism could not take its place. It is surely better than no religion, or than any pagan religion, or than Christless Unitarianism. But I make no special plea for it, only for the truth. I am, I believe, as keenly alive to its faults as the most earnest anti-Catholic, and have put myself on record, in the pages of this *Review* and elsewhere, as a protestant against the tyranny of its system, the assumptions of its inerrant, triple-crowned ruler, and its perversions of biblical Christianity. But I remember, when I speak of its corruptions and its wide departure from the simplicity of apostolic Christianity, that Protestantism has its own blemishes, its own aberrations from the true faith; and where my convictions compel me to condemn I try not to condemn in passion and without discrimination, but to make the conclusion correspond with the facts. I seek to ascertain and measure my own prejudices and to make due allowance for the personal equation. For prejudice is persistent in the extreme and sadly bitter, blinding us unconsciously to truth and justice. It makes an almost fiendish use of the best of us sometimes.

Once more, to describe a little more fully the state of mind in which I endeavor to approach this important question, I am not so broad in my religious sympathies that I overlook the evil and magnify the good to be found in non-Christian systems, and I am not, therefore, led to claim nature worshipers, idolaters, and devotees of highly wrought philosophies as brethren in the Lord. I rejoice in our Parliament of Religions, not because it proved that there are some points in which all faiths agree, but because it brought Christianity into bold relief as the one divine religion, efficient and sufficient, and heir apparent to the kingdom of the world. A charity so broad that it would cover Hindooism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity with one mantle must first reduce Christianity to a Christless state. And what

is Christianity without the divine Christ and the supernatural? I try to keep my eyes open to the faults of the Church of Rome, as well as to its good features.

I think we should never allow ourselves to forget that the Church of Rome is a Christian Church. It ought not to be necessary to plead for such a concession; but there are not a few who hold that it is more pagan than Christian, and that the denunciations of the *Apocalypse* were meant to apply to it. I call it a Christian Church, because it accepts as devoutly as we the Gospel statement of the incarnation, the teachings, the miracles, the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, and the fact of redemption by him and of salvation in his name. It believes in the same Bible, worships the same triune God, and holds as positively as do we to the immortality of the soul and to a state of bliss for the good and of misery for the evil after death. In its belief, so far as the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity are concerned, we cannot deny that it is orthodox. I call it a Christian Church, because it produces Christian fruits; and by its fruits, according to the Master's test, we may know it. With much else that seems foreign to the Gospel, we find in it constant devotion, burning zeal, and beautiful consecration. We see lives that are saintly in character, and a care for the orphan, the destitute, and the afflicted that compels our admiration. If we are often shocked by the immorality of professed Catholics, we find plenty of evidence of genuine piety. Most of us know Catholics who are conscientious in all their acts, strong in their faith in the merits of Christ, and very near to God in life. We do not forget that some of the hymns we love to sing for their devotional spirit were written by popes, cardinals, monks, and priests. What Protestant has given the world richer spiritual meditations than Thomas à Kempis, or more heavenly thoughts than Madame Swetchine, or sweeter hymns than the Bernards, Faber, and Newman? What Protestant missionaries have made larger sacrifices and put forth more heroic efforts for the conversion of the heathen than Xavier of India, Raymond Lull and Lavigerie of Africa, Le Caron of Canada, and De Smet and Marquette of the Mississippi valley? Catholic missionaries know how to die the martyr's death; and if a young Ohio Protestant girl, hoping for a long missionary service in India, yields a lovely life without a mur-

mur to the care of a leprous community, Father Damien, criticise him as you will for imperfections, dies a leper's death cheerfully, and dies with the name of Christ on his lips. The evidence that the Catholic is a Christian Church, however corrupt, however far astray, seems to me overwhelming.

Be this as it may, we have to deal with the Roman Catholic Church as an established institution. We could not overthrow or banish it if we would. It is here in our midst and in great strength. It is active among millions of our fellow-citizens, who are thoroughly attached to it and who derive all the Christianity they possess from its teachings. The question is, What should be our attitude toward it?

I think our attitude toward it should be characterized by Christian courtesy. We should treat it with respect. We should not sneer at it, or abuse it, or fling opprobrious epithets at it. We ought to be able to differ with it on points of faith or practice without bursting into wholesale denunciation. It is venerable. It has come down to us, through long centuries, from apostolic times. During long periods of time it alone preserved Christianity on the earth. Our own succession as Protestants comes down the same stream, through the primitive and the Dark Ages to the Reformation, when the great divergence began. It is a better Church now than it was in Luther's time. It, too, has reformed, and the process will continue. We do no dishonor to ourselves by speaking of this great and venerable Church as respectfully as we can. We can show this respect, in one way, by calling the Church by its proper name. It has a definite title by which it desires to be known. It does not object to being spoken of as the Catholic Church, or the Church of Rome, or the Roman Church; but it does resent the terms "Romish" Church, or "Popish" or "Papistical" Church. The use of these objectionable words is pretty constant practice among us; and, while it is often the result of mere thoughtlessness, it not seldom marks the attitude of the mind as one of contempt. We may insist that Catholics are oversensitive; but let the tables be turned and see how we would feel ourselves. We are Methodists, for example, and own Wesley as the founder of our movement; but we would not like to be called Wesleyites. We have a right to our own proper name and description, and those who would treat us with

respect must be mindful of them. We can differ with Roman Catholics, and contend earnestly with them for our own views of the truth, without descending to the use of terms indicating contempt. This may seem a small point, but if we would be careful always to pay heed to it our discussions would be raised to a higher plane; and this would be no trifling matter.

Some zealous controversialists take a singular delight in rabid and indiscriminate denunciation of the Church of Rome. They are fond of identifying its headship with the "scarlet woman" of the Book of Revelation, and of insisting that it is the mother of abominations. They believe that it represents the spirit of anti-Christ. Such expressions always make me shudder, as I would shudder at some shocking irreverence or awful blasphemy. I do not undertake now to say how we should interpret these scriptural terms; I only say that I see no warrant whatever for applying them to the Catholic Church or its head. It is a harsh, unchristian judgment, contrary to the positive declaration of Christ that he that is not against us is for us. A large body of Lutherans makes it an article of faith to identify the pope as "anti-Christ," not on personal grounds, but because of his official headship. Think of denouncing as a source of abominations a Church which, with all its faults and scandals, exalts the name and merits of Jesus Christ as the divine Saviour of the world!

We should strive to divest ourselves of our prejudices against Catholics and the Catholic Church. Many of us drew them in with every breath we breathed in the atmosphere of our youth, and have fed them upon a class of literature of scandalous character, such as inflamed and unprincipled writers and unscrupulous publishers put into the market. I have at this moment under my eye a flaring circular of the most sensational character, with shameful pictures conveying the slanderous imputation that priests and nuns are wickedly immoral, and that the confessional is a sink of iniquity. But we know well enough, when we reflect, that such scandals are not monopolized by Catholics. When infidels have tried to make it appear that the offenses of certain well-known Protestant ministers against purity are common to, if not characteristic of, Protestantism, we have resented it with indignation. Prejudice receives such imputations with eager readiness, and we have

reason to be slow to condemn. A Methodist minister of Scotch birth once told me that, in his early childhood, he had a most terrible fear of Catholics. He had heard such stories of their wickedness and cruelty that he believed they had horns and were not like other people. I remember a young country girl, just in her teens, who was greatly shocked on discovering that a little friend, whose acquaintance she made on a visit to a relative in a city, was a Catholic. "Why," said she, with genuine surprise evident in manner and tone, "I thought Grace was a nice girl." From that moment she lost all interest in her playmate, who was a Catholic and, therefore, could not be nice. A Presbyterian minister says his little girl has been boycotted by many of her former associates because she is friendly with a young Catholic. They told her that if she would not give up her Catholic friend they would not play with her any more. Her father thought the Catholic companionship suitable, and would not advise his daughter to yield to the unconscious bigotry of her young friends. We all know that such instances are numerous, and they are not creditable to our intelligence and fairness. They indicate how rank is the prejudice with which thousands of Protestants are imbued—prejudice not confined to children, or even to the lay element, but fully developed in ministers, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, etc. This rooted prejudice will not allow us to see the Catholic Church as it is or judge of it fairly; but it predisposes us to believe every damaging statement and discount every favorable one concerning it. It is no defense to say that Catholics have a like prejudice toward Protestantism. No doubt they have. They condemn us more roundly than we condemn them, and are more ready, perhaps, to believe the worst said of us. But two wrongs do not make a right; and the wrong we do may be less excusable in us, because it is done under greater light.

This prejudice of ours, which we too often mistake for a virtuous indignation, makes us quite willing to believe the worst reports respecting Catholics and Catholicism. For example, many believed that the false encyclical circulated a few years ago as the utterance of the pope was genuine, notwithstanding the fact that its spurious character was evident on the face of it. Common sense must convince anyone who reads it with

any reflection that it is a fraud. It puts into the pope's mouth expressions which are outrageous beyond measure and which no sane pope could have imagined. He is represented as declaring that "the people of the United States of America have forfeited all right to rule said republic, and also all dominion, dignity, and privileges appertaining to it," and that he has determined to absolve "all subjects of every rank and condition in the United States, and every individual who has taken any oath of loyalty to the United States in any way whatever," from "said oath, as from all other duty, fidelity, or obedience." This power is assumed to be exercised on the ground that "this pontiff alone hath been constituted head over all nations and kingdoms, and invested with power to destroy, to separate, to scatter and subvert, to plant, build up, link together by mutual charity, to order, to preserve the faithful in the spirit of unity, and deliver them whole and entire to their Saviour." This vile and malicious attempt to excite men's passions and prejudices also puts these words into the pope's mouth:

The United States has been filled with books containing the most flagrant heresies, of which the Protestant version of the Bible is the chief, and that (*sic*), not content with adopting its false and impious doctrines, proselyting has been resorted to to turn the Catholics from the one true Church.

Any honest man must burn with indignation against those who are responsible for this false and injurious document. On such grounds as this our patriotism is often appealed to, and we are warned that the object of the Church of Rome is to undermine our government and subvert our institutions.

Among the false and injurious reports spread in the last two years, I may mention one which has occasioned no little alarm. It represents the Catholic bishop of Peoria as receiving by express innocent-looking boxes labeled "Trees." When opened in the cellar of his residence they were found to contain Winchester rifles. The same statement has appeared in connection with the bishops of other dioceses. The inference drawn is that the Catholic hierarchy is getting ready for an appeal to arms, and that they will attempt to rob us of our liberties. Fancy the Church engaged in such a conspiracy! Those who view Catholicism with most alarm usually credit it with great cunning and with almost superhuman sagacity in adapting means

to the end. How supremely silly would any such attempt at insurrection be! It would be more worthy of the inmates of an insane asylum than of a body of bishops. Some people, also, have been disturbed by reports, in this instance true, about the arming of young men in Catholic educational institutions by the authorities of the United States. Surely, they say, this is dangerous, and indicates that the Jesuits have great influence at Washington. They do not, of course, know that this is pursuant to law, and that Protestant institutions receive arms on the same terms as Catholic.

Quotations from the Catholic press have been offered as proof of the assertion that the "throne on the Tiber" is likely to be set up "on the Potomac," and that the "manifest object of papacy is the subversion of our free institutions." One of these quotations is alleged to be from *The Western Watchman*, a Catholic weekly of St. Louis. It is as follows:

We would draw and quarter Protestantism; we would impale it and hang it up for crows' nests; we would tear it with pincers and fire it with hot irons; we would fill it with molten lead and sink it into hell fire a hundred fathoms deep.

I do not remember to have seen this sentence in Father Phelan's paper, which I have read faithfully many years. But I have little doubt that it appeared therein. It is certainly very energetic in expression, and manifests a very decided dislike of Protestantism. It is not to be taken, however, as indicating that Father Phelan would revive, if he could, the tortures of the Inquisition and consign us to dungeon, rack, and stake; but as a rhetorical extravagance. He is very intense in his manner of expression. He is the "Brick" Pomeroy of the Catholic press. He is sharp, severe, startling—just as much so when he criticises his ecclesiastical superiors as when he writes against Protestantism. He fought Archbishop Kain with singular courage, and never said more cutting things of him than when he announced his own surrender on compulsion. Those who know *The Pilot*, of Boston, as a paper of literary merit and free as possible from bigotry, would understand the meaning of this sentence, taken, probably, from its editorial columns:

No good government can exist without religion; and there can be no religion without an Inquisition, which is wisely designed for the promotion and protection of the true faith.

"What!" asks the good Baptist minister who quotes it, "have the Dark Ages come again?" He sees visions at once of Torquemada, the Duke of Alva, of burnings and of horrors unspeakable. But this is not what *The Pilot* means. It refers to one of the present sacred congregations, *Congregatio Sacri Officii* or *Romanæ et Universalis Inquisitionis*, whose duty it is to examine and repress heretical and depraved doctrines and offenses, such as those of Curel, St. George Mivart, and others. If Dr. Briggs were a Catholic he would have been required to defend his views before the Congregation of the Inquisition, instead of the Presbyterian General Assembly. The old title is retained, but the horrible practices connected with it have passed away forever; and no Catholic, at least in this country, wants them renewed. It is only fair that we try to ascertain the intent of a writer before we attack him. This is particularly necessary where our prejudices urge us to condemn. Fair play is a prominent American characteristic. Let us be careful to observe the spirit of it.

The instances of downright misrepresentation, including the false encyclical and also a blood-curdling form of oath mendaciously attributed to the order of Jesuits, are not few; nor are unfair and injurious interpretations and inferences uncommon. I do not say that all Protestant controversialists are guilty of them. Far from it. But they play no small part in the process of exciting anti-Catholic prejudice and poisoning the popular mind. It is certainly not too much to ask of all who would do justice to the cause of truth that they approach this question with candid minds, that they endeavor to cast aside prejudice, and that they be cautious in accepting derogatory statements, and take measures to test them, so far as possible.

I desire now to try to answer two of the questions that have frequently been put to me. The first is, Are Roman Catholics not disloyal to our government? And this is the second: Do they not propose to destroy our public school system?

I. Are Catholics disloyal? I do not remember ever to have seen the affirmative of this question supported by the citation of any act. It is commonly argued from the doctrine of papal supremacy. Catholics, it is urged, know no higher law than obedience. The people obey the priests implicitly, the priests are in complete subjection to the bishops, and the bishops are

bound to do whatever the pope tells them. This pope is a foreign potentate who assumes to be superior to kings and governments; and he would, if he could, subordinate the State to the Church. In answer let me ask, Is it not obvious that he could not if he would? Where is there a State over which he exercises even a shadow of sovereignty? There are countries, like Italy, Austria, Spain, and Portugal, which are overwhelmingly Catholic. Surely there, if anywhere, this assumed prerogative would be asserted. It is not. The pope has no quarrel, even with the government of Italy, on this point. All that he asks of King Humbert—and he asks this less and less often and more and more perfuditorily—is that the seat of his spiritual empire be made papal or neutral territory, so that he shall be independent of all governments. Everybody admits that this concession will never be made. Now, if the pope cannot obtain control over a Catholic power, what possible chance has he of doing so over a great Protestant power like the United States? The idea of such a thing seems to me preposterous. If the Church is as cunning, as unscrupulous, as adept in trickery as it is sometimes said to be, why has it not carried its point in Italy, where the Church has its seat of government and where the people are intensely Catholic? If the pope really desired to subvert our government, of which there is not the slightest evidence, what object could he have in view? The establishment of a monarchy? This is inconceivable. It is true enough that the idea at Rome used to be that monarchies were of divine right; but this idea has been modified, and the pope has recognized in France—the oldest son of the Church—the divine right of republics. If our own republic were ever intolerable to the holy see, why were Catholics allowed to assist in establishing it? A prominent Catholic, educated by the Jesuits, signed the Declaration of Independence. John Carroll, the first Catholic bishop and archbishop in the United States, was a zealous patriot, and went on an important mission to Canada with Benjamin Franklin and others. If our Catholic countrymen are disloyal, why have we never, in all our history, caught them in disloyal acts? Thousands upon thousands of them were soldiers in the civil war; they filled many official positions in army and navy and in the civil service; they led our armies as generals, and there was never a suspicion that they were not as loyal as

Methodists or Baptists or Lutherans or Presbyterians. A Catholic was chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and his judicial record indicated no desire to overturn our Constitution. I say again, if Catholics are enemies of our government, in what single act have they shown their hostility?

A hypothetical case is sometimes put, thus: suppose an issue were to arise in which Catholics had to choose between their country and their Church, between their patriotism and their religion—what then? I reply, that this question is just as pertinent respecting members of other denominations as of Catholics. It is often said by way of condemnation that, if a Catholic had to choose between his faith and his country's requirements, he would sooner give up his allegiance to his country than to his religion. Well, who wouldn't? Religion embraces our duty to God. Isn't that our highest duty? And if conflict comes, who that is worthy of the Christian name would abjure his faith? This is only an idle question; such an issue is in the highest degree improbable; but our prejudice provokes our fears, and our fears are wild and unreasoning.

Catholic bishops and priests have said, on a few occasions, that in another century the United States would become Roman Catholic. I have seen such predictions printed in big black type, with exclamation points, as though all manner of treasonable designs were involved. I suppose that any enthusiastic Protestant might express such a belief or hope for his own denomination without being considered an enemy of his country. Catholics believe, of course, in their Church, and it is natural that they should want it to grow and gain ascendancy everywhere. There is nothing wrong in that, surely. As a Methodist, I should like to see my own Church increase beyond all other Churches. I do not say that it would be a good thing for the Church of Rome to possess the United States—far from it. Christianity would take a long step backward if such a misfortune should come upon our country. I only say the desire that their Church should achieve this triumph is not discreditable to Catholics, and that it is better for us to study the methods and results of their Church as a religious body, with a view to evangelizing it, than to be twisting logic, straining facts, writing and circulating false encyclicals, and defying common sense, in a vain attempt to prove that it is scheming for the

overthrow of our government and for the destruction of our liberties.

I do not think that the Catholic hierarchy is at all dissatisfied with our form of government; but I do think that Catholics, as Catholics, have been pretty deeply immersed at times in party politics. They went into the elections of 1892 to defeat General Harrison. The Catholic press, with scarcely an exception, made fervent appeals to their readers so to cast their votes as to "rebuke bigotry" and compel Indian Commissioner Morgan to leave the Indian Bureau. They raised a hue and cry against his administration, claiming that he was hostile to their schools and teachers and treated them with injustice. They rallied as many Catholic votes as possible against the Republican candidates, and were overjoyed at their signal defeat. That Catholic votes accomplished that defeat I do not say. I do not believe they did. I only say that it was the evident desire of the more zealous and bigoted Catholics to secure a change in the administration. It is worthy of remark, however, that nothing has been gained for their Church. A Baptist succeeded a Baptist in the direction of the Indian Bureau; and the policy of the previous administration has been followed, and there are no Catholic complaints. Catholics were also in the last elections, as Catholics, to rebuke the American Protective Association. But from the returns it is evident that they had little or no success. Hundreds of thousands of them must have voted with the same party with which it was sought to identify the American Protective Association. I have not a word that is favorable to say of this proscriptive association; but I do not greatly pity those against whom it makes war. They brought the punishment on themselves. I agree most fully with those who apprehend danger if the Roman Catholic Church goes into politics; but I believe the danger will not be to the country, but to the Church.

II. Does the Church of Rome desire to destroy our public school system? "Destroy" is a strong word. I doubt whether it is right to apply it even to the most hostile opinion that prevails among the hierarchy. The most any Catholic has asked for is exemption from payment of the public school tax or division of the school funds. In neither case would the system be destroyed. If the first alternative were adopted it would im-

pair the integrity of the system and limit it. It would not be for all the people, as it is now, but only for the larger part of them. If the second proposal were accepted we should have in this country the conditions that prevail in England and elsewhere. We should have both the secular and religious elements represented in our public schools. The system would be greatly changed and impaired, but it would not be destroyed. It would not be fair, I think, to say that the hierarchy would destroy our public school; but it is fair to say that they are not satisfied with it as it is.

Years ago, particularly under the reign of Pius IX, who resisted modern progress and opposed modern ideas, the feeling of the leaders of the Church in this country was hostile to our public schools. One reason for this was the undeniable fact that the Church sustained heavy losses through the falling away of Catholic children from the faith. Many became Protestants, and many others refused to enter the Church of their parents. They imbibed, in the atmosphere of the schoolroom, ideas of liberty and independence—liberty to think for themselves, with a sense of personal responsibility for the results of their thinking. Bishop and priest, accustomed to systems in the Old World providing for religious instruction, regarded our secular schools as dangerous to the faith of Catholic children, and not infrequently denounced them as godless. In recent years, however, this feeling has become far less intense; Catholic parents regard the public schools with more and more favor. They find them much superior to Catholic parochial schools and patronize them extensively. Here in New York, the largest diocese, numerically, in the country, reporting a Catholic population of 800,000, there are only 40,149 children in the parochial schools. Most of the rest are, of course, in the public schools. Moreover, the Church is convinced that the American people mean to preserve the public school as it is, and it recognizes the uselessness of keeping up a losing warfare. It has become generally Americanized itself, and has learned how it can supplement the instruction given in the secular school with religious training. Letters from five archbishops and twenty-five bishops, published last year,* show that Catholic prelates generally agree in saying that they do not demand a

* In *The Independent* of January 11, 1894.

division of the public school funds or a recognition of denominational schools as a part of the system of the State. In the present state of public opinion they do not think it would be wise to do so. They also agree in holding that the denominational systems of other countries are preferable to ours. Here we must take a decided stand for our system as it is. Whenever and wherever the issue is raised we must be prepared to meet it and resolutely oppose any backward step. My own belief is that the issue will never be seriously raised. Irresponsible individuals may try to do so, but the hierarchy will not commit itself to a hopeless task. In fact, it is adjusting itself to the American idea and modifying its decrees. Catholic parents are not now excommunicated for ignoring the parochial, and patronizing the public, schools. Catholic prelates and priests are outspoken friends of our system of public education—not many of them, to be sure, but they are increasing in number. Archbishop Katzer expresses his hearty approval of the following action of the German-American Catholic societies of Wisconsin in 1890:

We concede the necessity of compulsory school laws, the necessity of public schools, and the right of taxation for such purposes. We hereby declare that we make no claim upon public funds for the maintenance of parochial and private schools.

If this article were not already too extended I should like to show wherein the decrees of the Church in America have been modified so as to allow Catholic parents larger liberty in the education of their children, and to give further evidence of the change in the attitude of the Church. My own position is that of the fullest confidence in the purpose and power of the American people to maintain and develop our free school system on undenominational lines. At the same time, we cannot afford to be careless as to the utterances and actions of the Church of Rome. If it should plan a sudden attack, which I do not in the least expect, let us be ready to meet it.

In conclusion, I would encourage all reform movements in the Catholic Church. I would recognize every step forward toward a purer faith and a more evangelical doctrine, every sign of decrease of superstition, every indication of development of independence of spirit and of resistance to ecclesiastical tyranny, remembering that no Church reforms its doctrine and

practice suddenly. The question is sometimes asked, "If the Church of Rome has changed in anything, where is the record of the repeal, when did it recall its errors?" I would answer this question by asking another: When did the Presbyterian Church disavow those chapters of the Westminster Confession which affirm the horrible decrees of Calvinism? It has recently refused to revise those chapters. Does it, therefore, still hold the old doctrine of reprobation, and can we convict it of believing in infant damnation because the section from which this inference has been drawn is still unchanged?

H. K. Carroll.

ART. VI.—THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF JOHN GREEN-
LEAF WHITTIER.*

ONE could not come near John Greenleaf Whittier without realizing that he stood near one who had felt the touch of the seamless robe. It was with a little private company in the parlors of ex-Governor Claffin, in Boston, that we spent a golden, never-to-be-forgotten afternoon with him ten or eleven years ago. He was then seventy-five years old; tall, slender, erect, active, energetic; with face mild, firm, intense; head like a Hebrew prophet; and "dark, deep eyes full of shadowed fire." Since that day we have always called him "St. John Whittier." He, too, was a son of thunder; he, too, was the apostle of love. Is it wrong to call this meek and quiet man a Boanerges? Read his "Voices of Freedom" and answer. His ancestors were Huguenots, men who had offered their backs to the scourge and their necks to the guillotine for the faith that was in them; and he was a son of the fathers. He stood up boldly in those stormy days when the muttering thunders of approaching war were shocking North and South, and speaks truly when he says,

My voice, though not the loudest, has been heard
Wherever Freedom raised her cry of pain.

But he did not whisper against iniquity:

Deeply he felt, and, stern and strong,
His soul spoke out against the wrong.

One has aptly said: "When he was fighting slavery he knew the word which would hit hardest and seldom scrupled to use it. A vocabulary brought from the Old Testament by the way of Puritan New England was not one of ethereal mildness." Whittier was of the Quaker Church militant, "preaching brotherly love," as Lowell puts it, and then "driving it in." His words just after the Mexican war sound as if the breath of the Almighty were blowing through the trumpet he held to his lips:

By all for which the martyrs bore their agony and shame;
By all the warning words of truth with which the prophets came;
By the future which awaits us; by all the hopes which cast
Their faint and trembling beams across the blackness of the past;
And by the blessed thought of Him who for earth's freedom died,
O my people! O my brothers! let us choose the righteous side.

* "The disciple whom Jesus loved."—John xxi, 20.

The Rev. Dr. F. C. Iglehart, in the *Methodist Review* for January, 1893, gives Garrison's judgment, written in 1863, that there were few living who had done so much as Whittier to operate upon the public mind and conscience and heart for the abolition of slavery; and he adds the suggestive circumstance that when, early in the war, the Hutchinson family were expelled from the Army of the Potomac, by a too prudent officer, for singing to the soldiers one of Whittier's songs of freedom, President Lincoln sent them back again, saying, "It is just the kind of a song I want the soldiers to hear:"

In vain the bells of war shall ring
Of triumphs and revenges,
While still is spared the evil thing
That severs and estranges.
But blest the ear
That yet shall hear
The jubilant bell
That rings the knell
Of slavery forever!

Whittier's ear heard it. Happy man, he lived to sing it, and in his writing desk he used to keep the large iron key of the slave pen at Richmond, which most appropriately had been sent to him when that city was captured by the Union troops.* It is suggestive of the religious temper of this man that on his eightieth birthday the South, in the person of Secretary Lamar, could say that "the spirit of Whittier's antislavery poetry was as free from malice and hatred as the Gospel itself, while at the same time it was scorchingly severe upon the gigantic sin."† The *Universalist Quarterly* is right when it calls Mr. Whittier preeminently our representative American poet and "thoroughly imbued with the spirit of our civilization; one of those rare souls that deal with realities and look through fallacies and falsehoods, and can divine the essential facts, the eternal truths that lie deep in the heart of things."‡ He was essentially a seer, a reformer, a man pure in heart and brave in life.

His spirit was so liberal in its sympathies that, of the sixty-six hymns chosen for the Parliament of Religions at Chicago, nine were from his pen, more than from the pen of any other poet.

* *Harper's*, vol. lxvi, p. 357.

† *Andover Review*, January, 1888.

‡ *Universalist Quarterly*, vol. xxiv, p. 304.

He saw the good in other faiths besides his own, and, like a good Quaker, as he was, judged men by their works and spirit, rather than by their articles of religion:

Call him not heretic whose works attest
His faith in goodness by no creed confessed.
Whatever in love's name is truly done
To free the bound and lift the fallen one
Is done to Christ. Whoso in deed and word
Is not against him labors for our Lord.
When he, who, sad and weary, longing sore
For love's sweet service, sought the sisters' door,
One saw the heavenly, one the human, guest,
But who shall say which loved the Master best?

He held up to scorn those whose religion consisted only in a creed, and urged, as the great Master did, that the whole law is fulfilled in this—that we love the Lord our God with all our hearts, and our neighbor as ourselves. He taught, as the Bible teaches,

That they who differ pole-wide serve
Perchance the common Master;
And other sheep he hath than they
Who graze one narrow pasture.

Whittier's sympathy with all men is beautifully illustrated in his "Songs of Labor and Reform."

A blessing now, a curse no more;
Since He, whose name we breathe with awe,
The coarse mechanic vesture wore,
A poor man toiling with the poor,
In labor, as in prayer, fulfilling the same law.

How exquisitely beautiful are these lines:

O brother man! fold to thy heart thy brother;
Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there;
To worship rightly is to love each other,
Each smile a hymn, each kindly deed a prayer.

Follow with reverent steps the great example
Of Him whose holy work was "doing good;"
So shall the wide earth seem our Father's temple,
Each loving life a psalm of gratitude.—*Worship.*

Whittier was a true Christian after the pattern of that other John, the fisherman of Galilee. It was the chord of love to which his heart responded most jubilantly. He never tried

singing ; he sang as the birds sang, and the notes he sounded most were love to God and love to man :

Assured that He whose presence fills
With light the spaces of these hills
No evil to his creatures wills.

Such thoughts from this secluded singer hidden away in his Isle of Patmos have given new courage to many a tired worker. Mrs. Mary B. Clafin, in her personal recollections of the poet, tells of a high-strung girl in college, overwrought with the strain of examinations, who went to the president and said : "It is of no use. I cannot go on. My life is a failure. I must leave college and go home." To whom the wise president said, "Go to the library and read 'The Grave by the Lake,' and then come up here and I will talk with you ;" and when, an hour afterward, the girl reappeared there was a new light of hope in her eye, and she said, in substance : "I will go on. I will overcome the obstacles. I believe now that life is worth the effort." * And there are others of Whittier's poems which are as full of this invigorating spiritual ozone as is "The Grave by the Lake." It is doubtful if any hymn of this generation has comforted and strengthened more sad souls than has "The Eternal Goodness :"

I know not what the future hath
Of marvel or surprise,
Assured alone that life and death
His mercy underlies.

And so beside the silent sea
I wait the muffled oar ;
No harm from him can come to me
On ocean or on shore.

I know not where his islands lift
Their fronded palms in air ;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond his love and care.

The thought of God's presence in human life, and Whittier's absolute trust that the steps of a good man are ordered of the Lord, caused him constantly to emphasize the biblical truth

* Mrs. Clafin informs us by letter that the college was Wellesley, and the president Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer.

that all life is holy when lived "unto the Lord," and all its commonest employments sacred :

Let the lowliest task be mine,
Grateful, so the work be Thine.

Doing God's will as if it were my own,
Yet trusting not in mine, but in his strength alone.

Leaning on him, make with reverent meekness
His own thy will,
And with strength from him shall thy utter weakness
Life's task fulfill.*

Very many of Whittier's finest poems—notably "Trinitas" and "The Two Rabbins"—are only variations or interpretations of the Saviour's words, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." They pray best for pardon who, like Moses and St. Paul (Exod. xxxii, 32; Rom. ix, 3), forget themselves in their longing to have others blest :

Each made his brother's woe his own,
Forgetting, in the agony and stress
Of pitying love, his claim of selfishness ;
Peace, for his friend besought, his own became ;
His prayers were answered in another's name ;
And, when at last they rose up to embrace,
Each saw God's pardon in his brother's face.

His was a serene trust in the uttermost wisdom and goodness of the omnipotent God. In almost every poem this faith throbs beneath every utterance. "If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there : if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there." God's love follows his children everywhere, even when they fly from him into the abysses of sin. His love is omnipresent and everlasting :

All souls are thine ; the wings of morning bear
None from that Presence which is everywhere,
Nor hell itself can hide, for thou art there.—*The Cry of a Lost Soul.*

And in life, in death, in dark and light,
All are in God's care :
Sound the black abyss, pierce the deep of night,
And he is there!—*My Soul and I.*

* See also Methodist Hymnal, hymns 197 and 602.

And through the dreary realm of man's despair
Star-crowned an angel walks, and lo! God's hope is there.

—*Divine Compassion.*

Still thy love, O Christ arisen,
Yearns to reach these souls in prison!
Through all depths of sin and loss
Drops the plummet of thy cross!
Never yet abyss was found
Deeper than that cross could sound!—*The Grave by the Lake.**

One of the most tender poems in literature is that of “The Minister's Daughter.” Taught she had been from her cradle the old, stern, hard, false, Calvinistic creed that

All souls, save a chosen few,
Were doomed to the quenchless burning,
And held in the way thereto.

And, walking with her father in the apple orchard, she whispered her wish that there never had been any apple blossoms:

“ Had there been no Garden of Eden
There never had been a fall;
And if never a tree had blossomed
God would have loved us all.”

“ Hush, child!” the father answered,
“ By his decree man fell;
His ways are in clouds and darkness,
But he doeth all things well.

“ And whether by his ordaining
To us cometh good or ill,
Joy or pain, or light or shadow,
We must fear and love him still.”

“ Oh, I fear him,” said the daughter,
“ And I try to love him, too;
But I wish he was good and gentle,
Kind and loving as you.”

And the minister looked down into the little upturned face and learned a lesson of love:

No more as the cloudy terror
Of Sinai's mount of law,
But as Christ in the Syrian lilies
The vision of God he saw.

* This is the plain expression of an “ eternal hope ” for penitent sinners even after death. A number of the early Christian fathers held to this view; and Canon Farrar quotes reverend names among the clergy of later ages who, though thoroughly orthodox in all other respects, yet permitted their hearts to dream this dream.

Because of such expressions as the above Mr. Whittier has been claimed as a Universalist by some hasty writers. Fortunately, we have his own words, which ought to be worth something more than are the guesses or inferences of anyone else. In his authorized *Life and Letters*, edited by Mr. Samuel T. Pickard, the relative and literary executor of Mr. Whittier, is given a letter written by the poet in 1882 in reply to a memorial received from fifty of his friends in Great Britain and Ireland, in which he expresses his trust in the mercy of the All Merciful, "yet with a solemn recognition of the awful consequences of alienation from him and a full realization of the truth that sin and suffering are inseparable."* Still more emphatic are his words in answer to the special question of a friend concerning his views: "I am not a Universalist, for I believe in the possibility of the perpetual loss of the soul that persistently turns away from God, in the next life as in this. But I do believe that the divine love and compassion follow us in all worlds, and that the heavenly Father will do the best that is possible for every creature he has made."† That is not bad Methodist theology. His words during our long afternoon's confidential conversation with him were in accord with the above. "What is your view, if you are willing to express it, concerning future punishment?" "Ah," said the saintly voice, "that is an awful thought, the possibility of everlasting separation from God, and yet I cannot deny it. Some men choose here to be separated from him. I do not see but they may choose this forever. I can conceive of nothing worse in this life, or in any life, than to be alienated from God, to be away from him, and out of sympathy with him." A hush fell on us then, as if we had, indeed, heard the voice of the disciple whom Jesus loved.

Whittier never minimized the awful fact of sin. In one of his latest books he wrote:

The soul itself its awful witness is.
Say not in evil doing, "No one sees,"
And so offend the conscious One within,
Whose ear can hear the silences of sin
Ere they find voice, whose eyes unsleeping see
The secret motions of iniquity.

* *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier*, 1894, vol. II, p. 683.

† *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 205.

Nor did he believe that the sinner could save himself. In almost his last poem it is said, when one asks the old pilgrim to hide the stains upon his soul :

"Thy prayer, my son, transcends my gift;
No power is mine," the sage replied,
"The burden of a soul to lift
Or stain of sin to hide.

"Howe'er the outward life may seem
For pardoning grace we all must pray;
No man his brother can redeem,
Or a soul's ransom pay."—*Between the Gates.*

Mr. Whittier believed in a present deliverance and help, wrought by a present Saviour. In his letters just published he tells of the time when, at thirty-three years of age, he was moved to prepare himself for life and death "by a surrender of all to Christ," and long afterward speaks of the desire "to win souls to the divine Master," and of the "divine revelation of the Holy Spirit." In his poems he says :

I know how well the fathers taught,
What work the later schoolmen wrought;
I reverence old-time faith and men.
But God is near us now as then;
His force of love is still unspent,
His hate of sin is imminent;
And still the measure of our needs
Outgrows the cramping bounds of creeds.

. . . The dear Christ dwells not afar,
The king of some remoter star,
Listening, at times, with flattered ear
To homage wrung from selfish fear,
But here amidst the poor and blind,
The bound and suffering of our kind,
In works we do, in prayers we pray,
Life of our life, he lives to-day.—*The Meeting.*

Yet Loved of the Father, thy Spirit is near
To the meek, and the lowly, and penitent here;
And the voice of thy love is the same even now
As at Bethany's tomb or on Olivet's brow.—*Palestine.*

This will be recognized as the clear expression of one of the chief tenets of the old orthodox Quakerism. Mr. Whittier lived and died a consistent Friend of the old school. On quarterly meetings he kept open house for his brethren; and

often in his poetry he refers to the blessings received on "calm and fair first days : "

And so I find it well to come
For deeper rest to this still room.

The world that time and sense have known
Falls off and leaves us God alone.

Heart answers heart; in one desire,
The blending lines of prayer aspire;
"Where, in my name, meet two or three,"
Our Lord hath said, "I there will be."

One of the most beautiful characteristics of Mr. Whittier was the largeness of mind, the liberality of spirit, which fitted him to belong to the universal Church of humanity. In 1884, when his picture was hung in the Orthodox Friends' School at Providence, R. I., he could truthfully write, "I am a Quaker by birth-right and sincere convictions, though no sectarian, in the strict sense of the term ;" and President Chase, of Haverford College (Orthodox), on the same occasion could say that, although the poet had been the "unfailing champion of the principles which the Society of Friends had always proclaimed," yet "we will not claim for sect or party what belongs to mankind. Whittier is ours, but he is no less the world's." That was well said. Every evangelical Church can claim him as well as the little orthodox society of which he was a lifelong member ; and even outside the bounds of orthodoxy or Christendom, wherever there are brave and reverent souls struggling after truth, they will find respondent, sympathetic notes everywhere in Whittier's verses. No one of all our singers has lashed the bigot and the sectary with scourge more terrible than he. No one, since that day when Pharisee and hypocrite and money changer fled before the Man of Nazareth, has anyone, with truer eye or stronger arm, laid heavier blows upon the back of those parsons and laymen who, magnifying creed, have omitted the weightier matters of the law—judgment, mercy, and faith.

Small respect for cant and whine,
Bigot's zeal and hate malign,
Had that sunny soul of thine.

But to thee was duty's claim
Sacred, and thy lips became
Reverent with one holy Name.—*In Memory.*

Terrible was his denunciation of any Church that stood close to the auction block ; yet he declared the Church to be a necessary bulwark of the State :

The riches of the Commonwealth
Are free, strong minds and hearts of health ;
And, more to her than gold or grain,
The cunning hand and cultured brain.

For well she keeps her ancient stock,
The stubborn strength of Pilgrim Rock ;
And still maintains, with milder laws,
And clearer light, the good old cause ;

Nor heeds the skeptic's puny hands,
While near her school the church spire stands ;
Nor fears the blinded bigot's rule,
While near her church spire stands the school.—*Our State.*

Again, although as a Friend he emphasized the Inner Light, and well declared

the unpardonable sin
Is to deny the word of God within,

yet no one has written more appreciative words concerning the Book of books than he :

We search the world for truth ; we cull
The good, the pure, the beautiful,
From graven stone and written scroll,
From all old flower-fields of the soul ;
And, weary seekers of the best,
We come back laden from our quest,
To find that all the sages said
Is in the Book our mothers read.—*Miriam.*

Because of his tolerance for others' views and his sympathy with all well-meaning people, even when he differed from them in belief, some small sects have eagerly seized hold of certain expressions in his writings, and loudly proclaimed that the great poet Whittier had deserted the faith of his fathers and had become as one of them. The Universalists, the Spiritualists, and the Unitarians have all claimed him. We have previously in this article shown that he was not a Universalist ; that he was not a Spiritualist is shown in his authorized *Life*, where he distinctly declares that the facts of Spiritualism are not of a character to convince him.* The claim that Whittier was a Unitarian has been made very boldly. The editor of *The Unitarian* has

* Pickard, *Life and Letters*, vol. II, pp. 651, 709, 710.

placed him prominently in the list of "Representative American Unitarians." The *New World* (March, 1893) has claimed him as "the preeminent singer" of Unitarianism, whose great mission was that of "humanizing God;" and Edward Everett Hale, in his oration on Oliver Wendell Holmes, has also made the same claim. In view of such public boasting it may be well to give some of the facts which convincingly disprove the claim.

I. Mr. Whittier remained to the day of his death a member of the Society of Orthodox Friends—a society which, in its own "Declaration of Christian Doctrine," expresses its belief in "the Trinity, the Scriptures, the fall of man, justification and regeneration, the resurrection, and the final judgment, the issues of which are eternal." *

II. Those who knew him best, including many who were associated with him in Church fellowship, positively declare that he was liberal, but was not Unitarian, in his belief. Only a hint can be given of the mass of testimony that could be presented here. We have previously given the words of President Chase, of Haverford College, who called him "the unfailing champion" of the principles of the society with which he was connected. Dr. O. C. Hobbs, late President of Earlham College, and Superintendent of Public Instruction in Indiana, himself one of the most prominent Friends in America, who was selected by the Peace Society as its representative to England, Germany, and Russia, and who was a warm friend of Mr. Whittier, when this rumor was mentioned to him emphatically and positively denied it. This is stated on the authority of his daughter, Mrs. Carrie H. Trueblood, and of Thomas C. Trueblood, Professor of Oratory in the University of Michigan. Professor Trueblood also knew Mr. Whittier personally, and adds his testimony to that of Dr. Hobbs. Rev. Dr. D. T. Fiske, who was selected to speak at the poet's funeral, writes, November 16, 1894, stating that he knows of nothing "to justify the claim that he was a Unitarian." "I do not think he cared much for dogmatic statements, nor held in high esteem metaphysical or scholastic theology; but he always seemed to me to have the spirit of one who had, in loving faith, received Christ into his inmost being and felt his divine, life-giving, transforming touch." To the same effect is a note just received from Mrs. Governor Claffin, at whose residence the

* *American Church History Series*, vol. 1, p. 145.

poet made his home for weeks at a time when in Boston. Professor Allen C. Thomas, of Haverford College, who also spoke at Mr. Whittier's funeral, in a letter dated November 1, 1894, writes that in an interview of some length which he had with the poet a few years ago "he spoke of himself as a decided Orthodox Friend," and adds:

There is no doubt whatever about this, because he himself made the distinction between the so-called Hicksites and the Orthodox, and did it voluntarily, without interrogation. My own impression is that his spiritual life deepened as he grew older, and more and more he came to rely upon Christ as his Saviour. That he was a Unitarian in the ordinary acceptation of the term, or in any acceptation of the term—if his own words to me meant anything—he was not. It is quite certain that Mr. Whittier was no Calvinist; but that does not make him a Unitarian.*

In response to a request from the present writer, Rufus M. Jones, editor-in-chief of *The American Friend*, wrote a long article for that paper (November 15, 1894), in which he shows, first, that the belief of Mr. Whittier and all his Quaker ancestry—"that a faithful, obedient, listening soul finds himself in intimate touch with the living Christ, who becomes a constant Teacher, an inward source of spiritual strength"—is in no way inconsistent with a clear faith in the all-important work of the incarnation. He then quotes largely from Whittier's writings, to prove that he held views "diametrically opposed to the generally accepted meaning of Unitarianism," and adds this personal testimony:

The writer spent part of a day in conversation with him, and he spoke freely of his own religious views; and I came away feeling certain that in belief the poet was in harmony with those whose whole faith centers in Jesus Christ and his manifestation of the Father. We remember distinctly his expressions of regret that one of his intimate friends, a pronounced Unitarian, should have found it possible to put Jesus the Christ into comparison with mere men; and he said, "I have often remonstrated with him."

Mr. Samuel T. Pickard, the husband of the poet's best loved niece, in the authorized *Life and Letters*, which the poet assisted him to prepare, declares: "With all his charity for other sects, Mr. Whittier held firmly to the faith in which he was

* Professor Thomas also called attention to Mr. Whittier's Introductions to Dora Greenwell's *Patience of Hope* and to the *Journal of John Woolman*, where again and again he speaks of "our divine Lord."

educated."* Nothing need be added to this. These testimonies prove that, if Mr. Whittier were a Unitarian in heart, he succeeded in keeping his convictions so hidden and secret that his most intimate Orthodox Friends with whom he associated in Church fellowship never suspected it; he never confessed it to them. Is it easier to believe that John Greenleaf Whittier, that brave and saintly soul, would thus disguise his real sentiments and refuse frankly to speak out his convictions and be wholly true to the truth revealed in him, or to believe that those who claim him as a Unitarian have been deceived by their own desires and misled by their own eagerness to claim a distinguished proselyte?

III. Nothing could add to the strength of the argument outlined above, unless we possessed Mr. Whittier's own declaration that he was not a Unitarian and that he was in true heart-sympathy with the Orthodox Church to which he belonged. This we do possess and will now put in evidence. Fortunately, the whisper that he was a Unitarian came to the ear of Mr. Whittier before he died, and he seized the opportunity on various occasions of clearly and positively denying its truth. This he did some years ago in a beautiful letter to Angelina Huff, the teacher of Professor Trueblood, of Ann Arbor, Mich. This letter we have not yet been able to find; but its contents are vouches for by Professor Trueblood. To the same effect he wrote to Rev. Dr. Richard H. Thomas, pastor of the leading Orthodox Friends' society in Baltimore, Md. Dr. Thomas was intimately acquainted with Mr. Whittier. In his history of *The Society Friends of America* † he says:

It seems but simple justice to J. G. Whittier, who was a member of the Orthodox Friends, to say that, while he was full of universal love and recognized the good in all, he was not a Unitarian in his creed, or even an Arian, but distinctly accepted the orthodox view of Christ Jesus, as he personally assured the writer of this sketch.

He wrote also to Mr. Charles D. Hole, of Salem, O., who has kindly written me the exact circumstances and sent me Mr. Whittier's note. Mr. Hole, having heard the claim made in Salem that Mr. Whittier was a Unitarian, and having noticed that the Quaker poet was placed in a cluster of noted Unitarians in

* *Life and Letters*, vol. i, p. 281. See also vol. i, pp. 259-266, 280; vol. ii, p. 689.

† *American Church History Series*, vol. xii, p. 280.

Kennedy's *Life of Longfellow*, wrote to him asking, "Are you virtually a Unitarian in belief, as has been reported of you, although called a Quaker?"* and in a few days thereafter received the following reply, mailed from Danvers, Mass., February 4, 1884:

24 Feb 1884

Neither Unitarian nor Colored
 is. but simply a Peeker of
 the old school who has
 no quarrel with either

J. W.

IV. In entire agreement with the above are the many definite statements of his belief given in his own words, in his authorized biography and elsewhere :

He worshiped as his fathers did,
 And kept the faith of childish days,
 And, howso'er he strayed and slid,
 He kept the good old ways.

So, scattering flowers with pious pains
 On old beliefs, of later creeds,
 Which claimed a place in truth's domains,
 He asked the title deeds.—*My Namesake*.

In 1840 referring to Unitarianism, he said, "I am not prepared to give up Quakerism to throw myself body and soul into the antisectarian sect about Boston. Free I am to say that I feel a deeper interest than formerly in supporting the religious doc-

* Mr. Hole did not retain a copy of the letter he sent to Mr. Whittier; but the above, which was published in *The Christian Advocate*, September 15, 1892, is his best recollection of it, and gives the exact thought, if not the exact phraseology.

trines and testimonies of our society." * At this time his declaration of belief was as follows :

God is one, just, holy, merciful, eternal, and Almighty Creator, Father of all things; Christ, the same eternal One, manifested in our humanity and in time; and the Holy Spirit, the same Christ manifested within us, the divine Teacher, the living Word, the Light that lighteneth every man that cometh into the world." †

In 1877 he made even a more definite confession, saying that, while Jesus of Nazareth was a man, "through whom the divine was made miraculously manifest," "the Christ was a God—a new revelation of the Eternal in time." ‡ As if desiring forever to put a stop to this whisper at Amesbury, that he had in heart deserted the orthodox faith of his fathers, in his will, which was written February 11, 1890, and admitted to probate at Salem, Mass., October 3, 1892, he says :

It is my wish that my funeral may be conducted in the plain and quiet way of the Society of Friends, with which I am connected not only by birthright, but also by a settled conviction of the truth of its principles and the importance of its testimonies. §

If, therefore, he be still retained in the list of representative American Unitarians it will be against the last and most solemn protest his dying lips could frame.

John Greenleaf Whittier was a humble, trustful believer in God and prayer and immortality, in sin and man's ruin by sin, except as he was saved by the one divine Name :

Alone, O Love ineffable!
Thy saving name is given;
To turn aside from thee is hell,
To walk with thee is heaven.—*Our Master.*

In a letter written in 1882 are these words: "Let me say that the hope which I humbly cherish for myself and my fellow-creatures rests not upon any work or merit of my own, but upon the infinite love manifested in the life and death of the divine Master, and in the light and grace afforded to all." | There is no note in all his music that sounds more constantly than this note of love and adoration for the Christ—

The Christ of God, whose life and death
Our own have reconciled.

* Pickard, *Life and Letters*, vol. i, p. 200. † *Ibid.*, vol. i, 204. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 631.

§ A photograph of this section of the will has kindly been procured for me by Rev. Raymond F. Holway, Salem, Mass. | Pickard, *Life and Letters*, vol. ii, pp. 683, 684.

He loved the scroll of Hebrew sages chiefly because of

The starry pages promise-lit,
With Christ's evangel overwrit,
The miracle of life and death—
O holy One of Nazareth,

Whittier saw, as did that earlier St. John, that the supreme thing in revelation is the Word that was made flesh, and, therefore, writes of turning over and over the gallery of its sacred pictures,

Until we pause at last, awe-held, before
The one ineffable Face, love, wonder, and adore.

He loved to speak of Him whom again and again he calls "Redeemer," "Saviour;" "through whom all the Father's brightness shone." When he mentioned Gennesaret it was to say,

Where dry-shod o'er it walked the Son of God,
Tracking the waves with light where'er his sandals trod.

If he spoke of Mount Olivet it was to tell of

The garden where His prayer and groan
Wrung by his sorrow and our crime,
Rose to one listening ear alone.

The atonement was a practical and solemn truth to him. To a friend he wrote:

What will it avail us if, while boasting of our soundness and of our enmity to the delusion of the Hicksism, we neglect to make a practical application of our belief to ourselves—if we neglect to seek for ourselves that precious atonement which we are so ready to argue in favor of.*

Over and over in his poems he says that, unless God mends one's heart and puts in it the new spirit of self-sacrifice,

Unworthy are his lips to tell
Of Jesus' martyr-miracle,
Or name aright that dread embrace
Of suffering for a fallen race.—*Derne.*

That sacrifice! the death of him,
The Christ of God, the holy One!
Well may the conscious heaven grow dim,
And blacken the beholding sun.—*The Crucifixion.*

Deep strike thy roots, O heavenly Vine,
Within our earthly sod,
Most human, and yet most divine,
The flower of man and God!—*Our Master.*

* Pickard, *Life and Letters*, vol. i, p. 226.

The disciple whom Jesus loved died, and was buried from his own garden September 9, 1892. Almost the last verse his pen ever transcribed was that which he wrote to Miss Frances E. Willard on the death of her mother:

But weep not for those who shall sorrow no more,
Whose war are is ended, whose trial is o'er;
Let the song be exalted, triumphant the chord,
And rejoice for the dead who die in the Lord.

His last words were, "Love only; love the world." In the garden, as he lay there sleeping so restfully, the Hutchinson family sang one of his early heroic poems of freedom; and then, just before he was carried away to the Friends' cemetery, a sweet voice repeated one of his hymns—words so saintly that they may well end our study of his religious beliefs:

When on my day of life the night is falling,
And, in the winds from unsunned spaces blown,
I hear far voices out of darkness calling
My feet to paths unknown.

Thou who hast made my home of life so pleasant
Leave not its tenant when its walls decay;
O Love divine, O Helper ever present,
Be thou my strength and stay!

I have but thee, my Father! let thy Spirit
Be with me then to comfort and uphold;
No gate of pearl, no branch of palm I merit,
Nor street of shining gold.

Some humble door among thy many mansions,
Some sheltering shade where sin and striving cease,
And flows forever through heaven's green expansions
The river of thy peace.

There, from the music round about me stealing,
I fain would learn the new and holy song,
And find at last, beneath thy trees of healing,
The life for which I long.—*At Last.*

Andrew M. Cobern

ART. VII.—THE REDEMPTION OF THE SLUMS.

THERE are those who are disposed to take a gloomy view of the future of Christianity. To our mind there never was a better prospect of its final prevalence. There are various reasons for such confidence, one of which is found in the fact that we are at last beginning to realize our duty to the cities, and especially those parts of them sometimes called "the slums." It was high time to do something. We need not here describe the growth of the cities in proportion to that of the rural districts of our country. Is it not written in the books of the Census Bureau? Moreover, the startling figures have been repeatedly published in the journals of the day and made the text of many an earnest exhortation from the pulpit and the platform. It is, likewise, unnecessary to dwell on the effect upon the morality of the cities of this rapid increase in their size, since it is pretty well understood that it is precisely "the dregs of society" that tend to settle in the centers of population. The cities, then, have in the last decades grown as rapidly, if not more so, in wickedness as they have in the number of their inhabitants. What, meanwhile, has the Church been doing? Much, doubtless; but anyone who will take pains to investigate the matter will find that, except in one of its branches, its growth has been almost entirely among the better classes. The Catholics alone have held their own or made advancement in the slums of our cities. "Yes," some will say, "and that is the reason why they are no better." We should say, rather, that it is the reason why they are no worse; for though, of course, we cannot approve of all the doctrines and methods of Romanism, we are convinced that thousands are deterred from vice and crime, and other multitudes sustained in virtuous courses, through its influence, and that, therefore, the dark corners of our cities are not as dark as they would have been had the priest, too, gone when the minister deserted them.

Yes, "deserted," severe as it may seem, is the proper term to use in this connection; for not only have the Protestants, until lately, not grown in the districts in question, but they have actually withdrawn from them and sold their houses of worship to the Catholics. This is as true of the Methodists as

of the other denominations. In Boston, for example, not only the old church on North Bennett Street, but Father Taylor's Bethel, the scene of some of the most glorious achievements of Methodism, is now a Catholic sanctuary. Of course, we know why the Protestants left the North End of Boston and the corresponding quarters of other cities. "Our members," they said, "are moving to the newer wards or into the suburbs, and the church must go with them." That might be a reason for moving a club, but it is not a warrant for leaving a house of worship. In the first place, it assumes the contrary of a fundamental principle of Christianity. It implies that the religious advantages to be given to a community may be measured by the ability or the disposition of the said community to pay for them. Jesus, however, said, "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister;" and the Church deserves the name Christian only when, as it has done in all its missionary enterprises, it gives as freely as it has received. The desertion of these so-called "downtown churches" has, in many cases, been the more culpable because it was financially unnecessary. Some time ago we heard a story of a minister who was called from a distant field to serve a church that was, by many of its official members, supposed to be on the verge of dissolution. When he arrived he asked them the reason of their fears. "Why," they replied, "our people are moving away, and those that are taking their places in the neighborhood are of another sort." "Then," said he, "let's have another sort of church." He went to work on this idea of adapting his church to its environment, and it immediately entered upon a new period of prosperity, which still continues. Only a few years ago there was a deal of talk about abandoning Grace Church, in Boston; but there happened to be among its members a number of men who loved it enough to make some exertion to save it, and now, although it is not so well situated as it might be, it is one of the most prosperous Methodist societies in the city. These are our reasons for using the term "desertion."

In this hasty sketch of our relation to the task of redeeming the slums we have used the past tense. We believe that the Methodists, like the other Protestant denominations, have mistaken the mind of God and failed of accomplishing their entire mission in their eagerness to acquire influence among the

respectable; but we are equally convinced that Protestants generally are awaking to their responsibility to the hitherto neglected classes, and that there is henceforth to be increasing effort for their salvation. It is a divinely inspired movement. Let us see how it may best be furthered.

Most Methodists, we suppose, if asked on what means we must chiefly rely to redeem the slums, would, without much hesitation, reply, "The preaching of the Gospel." They would open missions in convenient places and introduce the usual methods of winning souls. This seems to be the idea of the official declaration of the Church with respect to our work in the cities. It commends to us the so-called "City Evangelization Union," the object of whose branches is to furnish aid to needy churches, organize new church enterprises, and conduct mission work among the religiously destitute (Discipline, ¶ 364). We believe in preaching, and we would have the Gospel, the news of God's love for men, proclaimed wherever they could be gathered to listen to the message. Such a plan would require a goodly number of preachers; for it is not a difficult matter, in a large city, to get a congregation. In the summer one can in a few minutes, if allowed to do so, collect a crowd about one in the street or on the Common, and with simple, earnest words hold them until the object of such a meeting is accomplished. In the winter it is a still simpler matter. Then it is only necessary to secure a room, on or near a thoroughfare, where there is plenty of light and warmth, and there will be a congregation whenever it is open. If notice be given that those who have no other place to lodge will be allowed to sleep on the floor after the service every seat will be filled, and however long the meeting may last few will lose their patience. On Sunday one is almost sure to find from twenty-five to a hundred men more or less disposed to be entertained at any of the cheap lodging houses.

To be sure, a crowd of this sort does not furnish the best material for saints. It is, in fact, largely composed of the "bummers," whose only employment is that of collecting nickels from the thoughtlessly benevolent for the support of rumsellers. Not long ago a gentleman saw one of them receive a coin from another passer and, being curious to know

how he would use the money, followed him. He went directly to the nearest saloon and presently reappeared, wiping his mouth and showing other signs of temporary satisfaction. The gentleman waited until he was out of sight and then, going into the saloon, asked the proprietor what the man had purchased. "A glass of brandy," said the rumseller; "and he drank it to the health of the fool that gave him the money to pay for it." It is not often that a man of this stamp is touched by the Gospel. If he seems affected he will usually be found to be trying to "work" the missionary for "the price of a meal" or out of pure mischief. In addition to these incorrigibles, however, there are apt to come to a mission persons of a different character—young men recovering from "a spree," to find themselves robbed and deserted, with others, male and female, who are seeking a place to spend an idle hour. They are attracted by the singing; but their interest does not always stop there, for now and then one is moved by the prayers and exhortations heard to begin a better life. These, and not the bummers—who need a thorough course of the law to be prepared for the Gospel—are the class that the mission really reaches; and if they were far fewer than they are it would be worth while to rake the filth of the slums to save them.

Let us, then, establish missions and preach the Gospel in its simple power to as many as possible. But suppose that a young man, out of work and utterly destitute, is converted. What next? Is he, at the close of the meeting, to be turned into the street with a "God bless you! Be faithful!" to sleep on a doorstep or find a refuge in the nearest police station? Or is he to be provided with a ticket and sent to a neighboring lodging house, to lie in filth, pestered by vermin, but more sorely tortured by the drivel or profanity of his drunken roommates? And, if he endures—as some, thank God! have done—this ordeal, when he rises in the morning resolved to be a man among men is anything to be done for him; or is he to be left to wander from shop to shop or from store to store, receiving thoughtlessly or contemptuously curt answers to his appeals for a place to earn an honest living, until his strength is exhausted and he is tempted to doubt the existence "of Christian charity under the sun?" The case of the woman who has been a "sinner," suggested by the above quotation, is

even more critical. We recently heard of two such of whom the sister in charge of a mission complained that, although they "started," they almost immediately returned to their old life. The friend to whom the complaint was made, in her next letter, asked, "Did anyone take any pains to prevent those girls from falling again?" and there was no answer.

We have directed attention to the disreputable, because they are usually most numerous at English-speaking missions; but the denizens of the slums are not all of this sort. There is a large class of the simply unfortunate. We are reminded, first, of the women —the widows obliged, sick or well, to toil incessantly to support themselves and, perhaps in addition, a family of helpless children; and the worse than widowed whose lot it is to be the wives of drunken husbands. Now and then one of these poor creatures slips into a mission. The warmth of the place does her good, and, although she may not join audibly in the singing, the hymns sung carry her thankful thoughts heavenward. One of the workers approaches her. Something in her expression tells him that she is a child of God. What is his duty, as a representative of the Church of Christ, to this unfortunate sister? Shall he look into her pinched and sunken face and merely ask the stereotyped question, "Are you saved?" and pass to the next, while she murmurs, "My God! is that all?" Or is there a further obligation? A few months ago two women, the widow of a once-prosperous New England farmer and her daughter, were found in a cellar in Boston in a starving condition. A little later a poor woman actually died for the want of the food suited to her condition after childbirth. Does the Church, as a Church, care for none of these things?

And the children? The slums swarm with them. They will come to the mission. At first they will be rude and boisterous, but most of them will finally respond to proper treatment. Of course, the missionary will organize a Sunday school. Have we not heard that "the Sunday school is the nursery of the Church?" But is he to be satisfied with admitting them once a week to a warm and clean, if not otherwise very attractive, place and giving them a single lesson from the Bible, leaving them to spend the rest of the seven days in the garrets and cellars that they have been taught to call their homes, or on streets lined with rumshops and alive with loafers and prostitutes? Is it of no

consequence to him or to the denomination that he represents where and how these future men and women, part of whom, at least, will one day have a voice in the government of their city and country, amuse themselves?

The foreign element, especially the Jews and the Italians, is becoming an important one in the make-up of the population of the slums, and Protestants are very wisely giving it more and more attention. It is clearly an advantage to have these foreigners where they can be so easily reached and influenced. Here, however, as in other cases, any attempt at evangelization starts a number of serious questions. For example, we open a mission for Jews, and in process of time a young man, finding himself convinced that Jesus is the Messiah, comes to the missionary for advice. The latter is naturally elated and impelled to apply the exhortation, "Stand up for Jesus." His convert replies: "I live with my parents and work for a Jewish employer. If I profess Christianity I shall not only be turned out of my home and deprived of the means of getting a living, but I shall be practically banished from the Jewish quarter. To whom shall I go, and how shall I earn my bread?"

Among the Italians we are met by another class of questions. They are mostly simple peasants, the prey of any sharper who chooses to take advantage of them. Their worst enemies are certain of their own countrymen—the "bosses" through whom they get employment, and the so-called bankers to whom they intrust their earnings. The bosses—often, we blush to acknowledge, with the knowledge and connivance of American contractors—charge them a fee of from two to five dollars for a job at reduced wages, demand exorbitant prices for the wretched food and shelter furnished them, and, finally, on the slightest pretext, discharge them to make room for new victims. The bankers then take what is left; but, instead of sending it to waiting wives and children in Italy, put it into their own pockets and—disappear. Some months ago there came to our country one of these peasants, who had mortgaged a little home that he owned to pay his passage. He found work and, after a time, succeeded in saving enough to cancel the mortgage. He took the money to an Italian banker to be sent to his wife and supposed that his home was redeemed. In a few weeks the banker failed, and about the same time he heard that the mortgage had

been foreclosed and his wife and baby turned into the street. Meanwhile, he had lost his job, so that he was not only powerless to help his family, but was himself on the verge of starvation. He had, also, found his way to the mission and become a devout Christian. What would have been an appropriate text for a sermon or exhortation in his case? Or was something besides a sermon in order? In another outrage an American was the offender. A family that had just immigrated hired two or three rooms, and went to a dealer who sold goods on the "installment plan" to buy some simple furniture. The bill amounted to two hundred and twenty-five dollars, on which they paid one hundred and twenty-five, agreeing to bring a certain part of the balance monthly until the debt was canceled. The poor debtor, however, although he sought it faithfully, could get no work, so that after a while he was obliged to confess that he could not fulfill his agreement. The matter was then brought to the attention of some Protestant friends, who at once notified the dealer to remove his goods, and then furnished the rooms with as much and equally good furniture for eighty-seven dollars! This Italian, also, was a member of a mission. Ought a missionary to such people to see them fleeced in this fashion without an effort to punish or prevent it?

We have dwelt thus at length on missions pure and simple for the purpose of showing, as we think that we have, their inadequacy as a means of redeeming the slums. We are inclined to think that the importance of mere preaching in other fields has been overestimated. We are sure that among the classes under consideration it is not effectual unless supplemented by other agencies. It is not surprising, therefore, that so many missions have proven failures. Nor is it surprising to find, on turning to the New Testament, that the message of the preacher is not the whole of Christianity. When John the Baptist sent to inquire whether He of whom he had heard was, indeed, the hope of the world, Jesus sent word to him, "The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." Here our Saviour distinctly describes preaching as only a part of his mission, one of the various ways in which he was sent to reveal the love of God to men. His ministry, from beginning to end, was a constant development

of this thought. He preached when he had opportunity ; but he seems to have spent more time in healing the sick and otherwise supplying the physical needs of his countrymen than he did in talking to the multitudes that thronged him. When he sent his disciples on their first independent mission he instructed them to follow his example. "Go," he said, "and as ye go preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand ;" but he at once added, "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give." It was evidently his intention that his followers, filled with his spirit, should, like him, go about doing good. The saints in all ages have imitated their Master in this respect. Our own Wesley was an indefatigable friend of the poor and the unfortunate, as well as a great preacher. He founded schools and dispensaries for their benefit. He also gave us a rule that has always seemed to us one of the most admirable statements of the essence of practical Christianity ever framed—that which requires that the desire for salvation be evidenced by "doing good of every possible sort and, as far as possible, to all men."

What, then, is our duty as Methodists, as Christians, to the classes in question ? We must, of course, win the wicked and comfort the godly ; but if we would be perfect we cannot stop there. They are all, for one reason or another, handicapped in the race of life. This fact is their sufficient claim upon our sympathy and assistance. If they are hungry and naked we must see that they are fed and clothed. If they are homeless we must find shelter for them. If they are sick or in prison we must minister to them. If they are ignorant, and thus exposed to harm of any sort, we must teach them the things essential to their welfare. If they are oppressed we must do our utmost to rescue and defend them. True, as someone will, perhaps, suggest, this is really the duty of the community. The community, however, is so imperfectly civilized, not to say Christianized, that it cannot be depended upon to do its duty. The Church, therefore, as it has heretofore done, must come to the rescue and continue to serve tables, if necessary, until "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" shall have become the fundamental law of society.

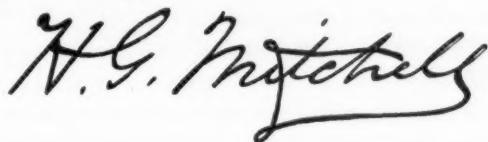
It is clear that what is to be done cannot be done by a few missionaries and meetings in vacant stores or simple chapels.

There must be permanent plants, adapted to various uses, like those of the Young Men's Christian Association, in the neglected quarters, and help enough to manage them. The precise form of organization for the work is not important. It may be a "settlement," where a company of young people devoted to good works live, and whence they reach the neglected about them. A home of this sort is a light in which multitudes are made to rejoice. The work required can, however, be done by a church properly organized, it seems to us, as well as by a settlement. Let the people in any city who have the redemption of the slums at heart return to the abandoned field, build a suitable structure, and make it their church, supporting its pastor and his assistants with their money and consecrating a portion of their time to personal work in the neighborhood, and the result will be marvelous. Where churches convenient for the purpose already exist, they can be restored to influence and prosperity by introducing proper features into their management. If this cannot be done by the membership the other churches of the city must lend a hand, and that with workers, as well as money. We might enlarge upon this subject of ways and means, but it is not necessary. There is no difficulty in finding young men and women willing to devote themselves to this inspiring work—some, entirely, for little more than a bare support; others, to the extent of their leisure from other duties, without compensation. As for money, there is almost no limit to the amount that can be had for the prosecution of successful efforts in this direction.

The success of the institutional method, or the hand-to-hand grapple with vice and misery, is no longer in question. An entire article would be too short to describe the results in any given field. We can only briefly refer to them. In the first place, a vast amount of suffering is relieved. The sick are nursed, the hungry fed, the homeless sheltered, and the naked furnished with clothing. Those who are handicapped by ignorance or any other similar disability are, as far as possible, relieved of their burdens. Thus, for example, hundreds of foreigners are taught to write their own, and to speak the English, language, while almost as many women are instructed in the arts of the housewife. Multitudes of children are gathered into clubs and classes where they learn all sorts of valuable

things, not the least important of which are consideration for one another and admiration for the unselfishness of their leaders and instructors. Nor is this all. The agents through whom these blessings are distributed are, first of all, disciples of Jesus. What they do they do "in his name." Hence, it is natural that their ministry in temporal things should prove a preparation for the Gospel. As a matter of fact, their beneficiaries are constantly being gathered into the Church. Even Jews forget the hatred engendered by centuries of contempt and persecution and learn to love our Saviour. A young Jewess in consumption, who was nursed by a visitor from the neighboring "settlement," was so touched by the tenderness with which she was treated that when she died she died a Christian. A class of young Jews, who, when they began their studies in a club formed for their benefit, stipulated that the subject of religion should not be introduced into their meetings, after a year asked their leader to arrange a service for them on Sunday.

Work of this kind has not, however, had the success that is in store for it. The institutions described are gradually kindling in the people of the slums themselves a local enthusiasm. On the other hand, they are disseminating in the community at large information concerning the real condition of things among the poor, which must result in legislative action for their benefit. If the saloon could be banished, and the loafers who did not go with it compelled to work for a living, the rate of progress would be so accelerated that our goal would soon be in sight. Here is an opportunity for the Methodist Church. Will it accept the divine call and lend a hand in the movement that is upon us? Or will it fall into the rear of the column led by the Salvation Army and lose the right, hitherto its glory, to be called the Church of the masses and the especial friend of the unfortunate?

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "H. G. Mitchell". The signature is fluid and written in black ink on a white background.

ART. VIII.—JOSEPHUS AND JESUS.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, the famous historian of the Jews, was born in the first year of the emperor Caligula's reign, which was about the eighth year of corrected chronology after our Lord's ascension. As he was the contemporary of the apostle John and spent the earlier part of his life at Jerusalem, it is quite probable that he was an eyewitness to many transactions which occurred in that city in connection with the apostles, after the accession of King Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great. He was a carefully educated priest, as well as a historian and a Pharisee. He began public life at the age of nineteen, and at thirty was appointed governor of Galilee, taking command of the Jewish forces at Jotapata, the military key to the situation, in order to resist the invasion of Vespasian, the Roman general, against the Jews; but after enduring a siege of seven weeks he was forced to surrender—a fact for which the Jews never forgave him. However, great consideration and extraordinary privileges were accorded him as a prisoner of war at the headquarters of the Roman army; and, being present, he was compelled to witness the events of the year 70, which issued in the complete reduction of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Jewish theocracy and commonwealth.

His seven books of the *Jewish War* were completed about A. D. 75; and his twenty books of the *Jewish Antiquities*, written originally in the later Aramaean or "Hebrew," but subsequently rendered into Greek, in which form they are preserved, were published about the year 94.* That which is of special interest to the Christian student is the testimony found in his *Antiquities* relating to three persons named in the New Testament—John the Baptist, James, the brother of our Lord, and Jesus Christ. His witness to the historical existence, character, and work of our Lord is contained in the following paragraph :

Now, there arose about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such as received the truth with pleasure. He carried away with him many of the Jews, and also many of the Greeks. He was the Christ. And after Pilate, at

* Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 1, p. 59.

the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, his first adherents did not forsake him. For he appeared to them alive again during the third day, the divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe of those called Christians after him is not extinct to this day (*Antiquities*, xviii, 3, 3).

Until the sixteenth century there was but one opinion respecting the genuineness of this celebrated passage attributed to Josephus concerning Jesus Christ; but since that time critical opinions have divided. It is certainly a compact statement of our Lord's life. A condensed representation of the arguments for and against the theory of the genuineness of this famous paragraph is here presented:

I. IT IS AN INTERPOLATION.

1. The passage interrupts the general narrative. Answer: In point of fact, is this proposition conclusive or necessitated? Certainly it is not as much a digression as the story in Luke (iii, 19, 20) respecting the Baptist and Herodias, which no one suspects as spurious. Rather, the scene described "exhibits one of the most remarkable of the undesigned coincidences occurring between the New Testament and Josephus. . . . It has led the historian into a brief digression upon the life, death, and character of the Baptist, which speaks volumes in favor of the genuineness of that still more celebrated passage in which he speaks of 'Jesus,' that 'wise man, if man he may be called,' unhesitatingly quoted as genuine by Eusebius."* Now, Josephus had just been recording a calamity to the Jews on account of a sedition which occurred under Pilate, and thence naturally proceeds to relate another great disturbance of the public mind, associated with it in thought, which occurred "about the same time" and under the same Pilate, namely, the crucifixion of Jesus; and in narrating the steps which led up to this event he mentions that "many of the Jews" were drawn over to him, and how, at the suggestion of "the principal men" among the Jews (high priests and Sanhedrists), Pilate was induced to sentence Christ to the cross. Josephus then proceeds to mention another, and still another "calamity" which "put the Jews in disorder," the first occurring in connection with the

* William Smith, *Dictionary of the Bible*, article "Herodias."

temple of Isis at Rome, and the other with the expulsion of the Jews from that city by the emperor Tiberius (§§ 4 and 5); after which he promises to return "to Jewish affairs." Thus, so far from the reference to the crucifixion being an interruption of the narrative arbitrarily interjected, as a disturbance of the public mind, it is quite in line with what follows, and the interruption theory does not seem to warrant the conclusion assumed.

2. A stronger point made against the genuineness of this passage is that it is, in fact, inconsistent with the views of a Jew, and would imply that the writer was a Christian. "If it be lawful to call him a man; for he was a doer of wonderful works. . . . He was the Christ."* One would rather expect that Josephus would represent Jesus as an impostor, in accordance with the notions of "the principal men" in power who sought and secured his death. The reply, in part, is that Josephus certainly does mention Christ elsewhere, and in such a way as indicates that he had named him previously. But nowhere does this writer apply to Jesus any epithet of disparagement or even dislike. He mentions James as "the brother of Jesus, who is called Christ" (*Antiquities*, xx, 9, 1). The belief which assumes *a priori* that Josephus meant to preserve a deliberate silence concerning Jesus Christ is a belief which not only has no real reasons for its support, but is contrary to all the reasons of the case. Let it not be understood that Josephus intended to give his own private judgment of our Lord's claim to character in the passage under discussion, whatever that opinion might be.† He is a historian, and in the historic style which preeminently characterizes his writings he holds himself well in check, evidencing a good spirit toward those with whom he differs radically, but whose judgment he treats with proper consideration.

Neither is it to be assumed that all the high-minded and thoughtful Jews were malignants toward Christ. Josephus was not born until about eight years after Christ was crucified,

* "Ο Χριστός οὗτος ἦν." Dr. Hudson conjectures that the preceptor of Josephus, named Banus, was a disciple of John the Baptist, and that Josephus thence learned to treat Jesus with respect. See *Life of Josephus*, Whiston's edition, § 3, note.

† This *iusus* is illustrated in form by Mary, who said to Jesus: "Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? Behold thy father [Joseph] and I have sought thee sorrowing" (Luke ii, 48). Compare Luke's own statement concerning Jesus (iii, 23), "Being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph"—"ἄντιος (ώς ἐνομίζετο) Ἰωσῆφος."

and may hardly be thought to sympathize deeply with those who had clamored for his death; and he did not write his *Antiquities* until about sixty-five years after our Lord's ascension, when that spirit of malice which put him to death might naturally be thought to have exhausted itself. At any rate, even in the time of Christ, there were not wanting those who had the respect and courage to treat Jesus and his apostles with proper consideration, while yet maintaining their Jewish character and position throughout. We nowhere read in the gospels that Nicodemus ever became a Christian, but it is expressly mentioned that he was "a man of the Pharisees" and "a ruler of the Jews," for he was not only a member of the Sanhedrin, but was the third officer of that senate of wisdom and learning. Yet he is found saying unto Jesus: "We know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these signs that thou doest, except God be with him" (John iii, 2). Himself a Pharisee, he defended Christ against the Pharisees, and received therefor their reproach (John vii, 45-52). He also assisted Joseph of Arimathea in ministering the funeral rites in the burial of our Lord (John xix, 38-41). Then again, another "Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, had in honor of all the people," also stood for the defense of the apostles when arraigned before the Sanhedrin (Acts v, 34-40).

Now, it was no more inconsistent for Josephus to write, as it is predicated that he did in this passage, than it was for Gamaliel to speak as he did of the apostles before the Sanhedrin, or for Nicodemus to say what he did unto the Saviour. Yet both of these remained Jews in high position. The strongest expression made by Josephus does not necessarily infer that he was conveying his own private opinion; but that, of the many Christs who had arisen, this one who was "the doer of wonderful works," was the one, in distinction from all others, who had been by so many, and, indeed, was still, cognized as *the* Christ. He simply reflected public opinion. The case is paralleled by Pilate's inscription on the cross, "This is Jesus the King of the Jews" (Matt. xxvii, 37), which certainly does not mean that Pilate accepted Jesus in lieu of his own Roman procuratorship, but that the Jesus of the crucifixion was that one who had commonly been called king. Pilate's meaning in this was so obvious that he declined to change the inscription

at the suggestion of the Jewish authorities (John xix, 21, 22). So also elsewhere Josephus puts himself upon record as explicitly speaking of James as "brother of Jesus, who is called Christ." *

3. It is claimed further that no writer until Eusebius (A. D. 315) inserted the passage under consideration, which was nearly two centuries and a quarter after Josephus wrote. Neither Justin Martyr (148), nor Clement of Alexandria (192), nor Tertullian (200) quotes this paragraph, although each one might have done so with advantage to Christianity. It is thence inferred that the whole paragraph must have been an interpolation. To this it is replied that an argument based upon mere silence can never be conclusive that a given fact did not exist; and certainly it is far from proving a case of interpolation. For a mere omission argues nothing. Every historian omits many things with advantage to his narrative, and no writer tells us all about everything or anything. Strabo and Tacitus both write of the Jews, but both are silent about the sect called Essenes. Nor are they mentioned in the New Testament by its Jewish writers; while Josephus distinctly speaks of them. Neither Herodotus nor Thucydides mention Rome. Did Rome, then, not exist? Dion Cassius, Tacitus, and Suetonius all wrote of the emperor Tiberius, and each one omitted some things which the others recorded. Eusebius, the friend and favorite of Constantine the Great, is silent concerning the death of Crispus, that emperor's son. Josephus himself, the special and able historian of the Jewish nation, omits about the banishment of the Jews from Rome by the edict of Claudius, while Suetonius and Luke mention the fact. Is silence, then, the equivalent of contradiction? Does the omission to mention an occurrence prove that it never happened? But Josephus does not omit to speak of Jesus Christ elsewhere, as we have seen; nor does he dwell upon his name and fame as we might wish or expect.

To maintain that these sentences are interpolated, it logically falls to the part of the affirmant thereof to prove how the inter-

* "Τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ." Renan, the late distinguished skeptic and professor of history in the University of Paris, with reference to this testimony conjectures that Josephus wrote "Χριστὸς οὗτος ἐλέγετο"—"He was called the Christ." And this seems to be the sense intended, without supposing the text corrupted.

polation occurred, the place where, the person by whom, and the circumstances in which it was so successfully introduced, without leaving a trace to excite suspicion in the mind of Eusebius, who quotes it twice. Here is a case in which neither majorities nor authorities can rule, but facts. Opinions are supported by reasons, prejudices are prejudgments and worthless. The several writers named addressed their apologies to the Roman rulers—the emperor, the senate, or both—but sometimes to the head of the local government. For the apologists of Christianity to appeal to Josephus as authority in reference to Christ would have carried very little weight to the minds of the Roman judges, who instinctively disliked, if they did not, indeed, despise the Jew; and, as to Jews themselves, this paragraph would have but little influence with them, for the twofold reason that Josephus had lost caste with his brethren for having surrendered Jotapata to the Romans early in the war, and that the Jews were utterly hostile to the sentiment expressed concerning Jesus Christ. So that the quotation of Josephus and his testimony concerning Jesus for the benefit of Roman or Jew would have simply been a case *mal à propos*.

In respect to Eusebius and preceding Christian writers who did not quote Josephus' saying, "He was the Christ," the point is well taken, if it be meant that the quotation was not made formally. But that is not the same as saying that it was not referred to at all. There are instances of reference which, if they do not identify the very paragraph, at least indicate it. For some writers wrote with such remarkable coincidence of expression that when taken in connection with historical circumstances, it becomes difficult to resist the conviction that these writers knew of this celebrated paragraph. The passage contains three distinct averments: *a*) "There arose . . . Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man;" *b*) "He was the Christ;" *c*) "The divine prophets having foretold these . . . things concerning him"—that is, his death and resurrection, just mentioned.

(*a*) Justin Martyr, in his *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho*, says: "For after that you crucified him, the only blameless and righteous man, . . . when you knew that he had risen from the dead and ascended into heaven, as the prophets had foretold,"

etc. (§ 17). Here is direct mention of Jesus as the "only blameless and righteous man," his resurrection from the dead, and that it was predicted by the divine prophets.

(β) Origen, against Celsus, says, "In the eighteenth book of his *Antiquities of the Jews* Josephus bears witness to John as having been a Baptist," and then adds: "Now this writer, although not believing in Jesus as the Christ, in seeking after the cause of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple, . . . ought to have said that the conspiracy against Jesus was the cause of these calamities befalling the people, since they put to death Christ, being prophesied of" * (*Contra Celsum* i, § 47). "And it is wonderful that he [Josephus], who did not receive Jesus as the Christ, should ascribe such righteousness to James" (*Commentaries*, Matt. x, 17). Here the death of Christ and that it was the subject of prophetic prediction are mentioned together and connected, as in the paragraph in Josephus. If this passage be not genuine, Josephus nowhere in his writings gives his opinion of Jesus Christ. On the hypothesis of its genuineness, it is easy to understand why Origen should so repeatedly and in different books accentuate the personal opinion of Josephus concerning Jesus. He says that Josephus "did not receive Jesus as the Christ," "not believing in Jesus as the Christ." But, on the contrary, if this passage did not exist in Origen's time (about 248), it is very difficult to understand why he should make so much of Josephus's opinion concerning Jesus, as if he knew perfectly well what that opinion was, when Josephus had not expressed any opinion on the subject! But the genuineness of the passage referred to accounts for Origen's knowledge of Josephus's opinion, accounts for the importance which he attaches to that opinion as known, and accounts for his reference to two particulars—the death of Christ, and that it was a subject of prophecy, both of which are contained in this testimony of Josephus. But, on the hypothesis that the passage is a forgery, these circumstances still remain to be explained.

Now, if Justin either refers to, or quotes a part of, this paragraph in A. D. 148, and Origen does the very same thing just one century later, then Eusebius, in 315, was not the first Christian writer to whom this testimony of Josephus to Christ was known.

* "Ἐπεὶ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν προφητεύμενον Χριστὸν."

(y) Now, as to Clement of Alexandria, he nowhere cites Josephus on anything, except upon a single point of chronology relating to a period between Moses and Josephus.

(6) Tertullian never quotes Josephus, except upon a point of chronological character, and that in the latter's work against Apion. It does not even appear that Tertullian ever saw any other of the writings of Josephus. If silence is to be taken as implying interpolation it must, by parity of reasoning, condemn as forgery all else of Josephus's writings, except this one point of chronology. But, as this proves too much, the omission of this passage by other writers does not help the negative side of the discussion.

(e) Finally, Tacitus, who wrote about 110, while not mentioning Josephus as his authority—as he seldom does mention his sources of information—uses language and ideas so associated as to impress one that he had the paragraph now under consideration before him. In relating the sufferings of the Christians he says: “The founder of this name was Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius was brought to punishment by Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea in the reign of Tiberius.”* Whence did Tacitus receive this historical information? Either from Josephus, or from the Roman records held in the archives at Rome, or from the New Testament. If from the New Testament, then the Scriptures were in circulation at Rome at the beginning of the second century; if from the Roman archives, then we have the best possible profane authority for the historical existence of Jesus Christ; if from Josephus, then Eusebius was not the first author whose works contained this testimony.

II. THE PASSAGE IS GENUINE.†

1. All the manuscripts and versions known, without exception, contain this passage.‡ It is maintained that, in the absence of proof to the contrary, universality in authorities and authors compels belief. It is held to be uneritical to ignore all the authority known, the more when all the authorities agree.

* *Annals xv*, 44.

† So say Bretschneider, Hauteville, Schoedel, Oberthür, Whiston, Böhmert, and Böttger. In the introduction to his *Vie de Jésus*, p. xii, Renan says: “Je crois le passage sur Jésus authentique,” etc.—“I regard the passage on Jesus [in Josephus] to be authentic. It is entirely in the style of Josephus; and if this historian had mentioned Jesus it would have been in that manner.”

‡ Schaff, *Person of Christ*, p. 191, note.

The reply is that there is no manuscript dating earlier than the eleventh century, and all the manuscripts existent were written by Christian scribes, which is a suspicious circumstance favoring interpolation. The replication is that the scribes being Christians does not justify the suspicious inference. The copyists of the New Testament were also all Christians, but that fact in itself does not warrant the belief that the New Testament is the work of fraud. The passage is in Josephus, in all the copies of his work; and its presence is to be accounted for by facts, and not by guesses. The burden of proof is with him who now objects. When and by whom was the interpolation so successfully introduced, and how was the supposed fraud maintained through centuries, and now discovered without the accession of any new fact? And how has it been managed that there does not now exist one single copy of Josephus's *Antiquities* which omits the passage? Eusebius quotes the testimony twice without the slightest suspicion of its being a corruption; and between A. D. 324-1480 there are no less than twenty-two writers, mostly historical, who quote this famous passage at length as unquestioned and unquestionable.*

2. It is in perfect accord with the known style of Josephus. This is illustrated in the same work, in which he introduces a section respecting John the Baptist and one which mentions James the Just.

3. As a historian of those times Josephus could not have ignored the "Man of history." His father, at least, was the contemporary of Jesus, and must have known of the name and the fame of Christ. Writing of Jewish affairs within that century in which he himself lived, it would have been extremely unnatural and unaccountable for Josephus not to have mentioned that One who had made the profoundest impression of any man that ever lived. But it is evident that he did know of Christ, for he elsewhere calls him by name, and knows and names one who was his brother—James the Just, who was "brother of Jesus, who is called Christ."† Moreover, Josephus mentions John the Baptist; and both James and John acquired all their preeminence by virtue of their relation to Jesus. To say, then, that his inferiors, who stood nearest him and

* See Whitson's edition of Josephus, Appendix, pp. 827-832.

† *Antiquities*, xx, 9, 1.

through him were brought into prominence, were named by this historian, but that the great Master himself, whose words and deeds have never ceased to stir the great world, was wholly ignored and unnamed, is a kind of reasoning which does not produce conviction. Taking Josephus's expression in this testimony, in connection with that concerning James "the brother of Jesus, who is called Christ," as the key for interpreting the sentence, "He was the Christ," it is easy to understand that Josephus was conserving his faith as a Jew in the presence of stupendous facts which he proceeds to state. His attitude toward Christianity may be illustrated by Nicodemus, in his relation to the Saviour, or by Gamaliel, in his relation to the apostles. That is, Josephus was not a Christian, but a liberal Jew; not a hater of Jesus or a hypocrite, but a conservative historian who related his facts respecting Jesus as he saw them; not willing, however, to accept the Christian conclusion legitimated by his facts; not accepting "the Christ" as his personal Redeemer, but as the Messiah of Jewish expectation, a temporal ruler of the Jews, and regular successor of King David. Whatever interpretive sense may be accorded to the particular sentence, "He was the Christ," it in no wise affects his testimony to the historical facts, as follows:

And after Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men among us, had condemned him to the cross, his first adherents did not forsake him. For he appeared to them alive again during the third day, the divine prophets having foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning him. And the tribe called Christians after him is not extinct to this day.

S. L. Bowman.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Not many days before Whittier died his valued friend, Oliver Wendell Holmes, reached the age of eighty-three, in recognition of which the venerable Quaker poet sent him, with affectionate greeting, the following lines :

The hour draws near, how'er delayed and late,
When at the eternal gate
We leave the words and works we call our own,
And lift void hands alone

For love to fill. Our nakedness of soul
Brings to that gate no toll;
Giftless we come to Him who all things gives,
And live because he lives.

Remembering that Whittier well knew who it was that said, "Because I live, ye shall live also," we cannot doubt that his pure soul was fixed upon his divine Lord and Master as he wrote, with feeble and failing fingers, these devout and solemn lines, so full of the spirit of self-renunciation and of utter dependence on the grace and power of the Redeemer of mankind. And we are confidently sure that to him was fulfilled the prayer which Tennyson offered for himself; when he put out to sea there was no moaning of the bar.

THE conference held in the Vatican for the purpose of considering the possibility of a reunion of the Roman and Greek Churches was a result of the papal encyclical on Christian unity. The pope is not only desirous of having all Christians under one name; he is anxious, also, to widen his dominions. But neither the old Armenian Church, nor the Greek Church of Russia and Greece have taken any part in the conference. The ecclesiastical bodies represented in the conference, outside of the Roman Church, number but five million souls, while the Churches of Greece and Russia number ninety-eight millions. Even the comparatively small number of non-Romanist people who consented to send representatives to the conference have never acknowledged the superior

authority of the pope. It is not likely that they will concede this now for the sake of the proposed unity, and the pope will not, of course, resign his professed authority. In fact, it is these exclusive claims of a nonspiritual kind which stand in the way of Christian unity everywhere to-day.

SOME FEATURES OF ONE STRIKE.

Two reasons move us to write of this particular strike: we have eyewitness knowledge of it, and it is of general interest, because typical to some extent of many other strikes. On Monday, January 14, 1895, the motormen and conductors on about all the trolley lines of Brooklyn, numbering some five thousand men, quit work and went on strike for better treatment, being overworked and underpaid. Over several hundred miles of road not a car was running, except a few that carried United States mails. A city of about a million, suddenly deprived of its accustomed means of transportation, suffered immense inconvenience and discomfort, and business was largely paralyzed. An extra expense of \$20,000 a day was entailed upon the city, or, what is the same thing, on Kings County, for troops and special police necessary for restoring and maintaining order. The loss to business must have aggregated millions. The suffering endured in severe winter weather by the poor families of the strikers must have been great and distressing. It seems worth while to set forth here, in numbered order and in the present tense, the salient features of this deplorable history, as it proceeded from stage to stage.

1. In the beginning the sympathy of the community is almost entirely with the strikers. They are believed to have real grievances and a just cause; they only ask for fair play. The trolley companies have few friends. Their history has not been honorable. By corrupt means, to begin with, they obtained from the city valuable franchises without paying anywhere near what the privileges were worth. They then inflated or watered their stock, to a volume far in excess of actual capital invested and far beyond the value of their property. Then the roads are so run as to pay large dividends on all this fictitious stock over and above excessive dividends on the real investment. The fare being limited by law, the trolley lines cannot get more money out of their passengers; they therefore wring it out of their employees by overwork and underpay, shrewdly and heartlessly arranging their rules so

that most of the losses—as, for example, by delay or accident—shall fall on the men and all the profits go to the company. Thus, the poor workmen are ground between the millstones as grist, to feed fat the stockholders and pay dividends on money that was never invested. It is the same sort of cruelty as miners in Scotland revolted against, when a fifteen per cent dividend was paid to the stockholders and eight dollars a week to the laborer in the mines. Moreover, the law requires that when dividends reach ten per cent fares shall be reduced. It is said that to avoid this necessity the individuals who constitute the companies resort to a legal fiction, organize on paper another company, a sort of side show, and manage to divert part of the revenue of the roads into this fictional treasury, whence it is distributed to the individual trolley stockholders by a subterranean sluiceway which dodges the law. The trolley companies have, also, been reckless of human life. They have killed many people. They delayed as long as possible to equip their cars with fenders, and only did it slowly when compelled. They made such rules about trips that their men, in order to earn even the wages allowed them, were obliged to run the cars at a higher rate of speed than the law permits. This has endangered the public and made lawbreakers of the men. For such reasons the community had small sympathy or patience with the companies in the beginning of the trouble, and have still less as the miserable days go on and most of the trolley officials maintain, in spite of intercessions by the mayor and others, an attitude of hard and arrogant stubbornness toward the men who are claiming their rights.

2. The strikers, starting with a just cause, show their reasonableness further by yielding part of their demands on some of the lines, and resuming work the moment the managers of those lines make a slight concession and consent to a half decent compromise. The men promptly meet these companies halfway. A similar spirit on the part of the other lines would have ended the strike completely in twenty-four hours.

3. The companies whose employees, obtaining no concessions, continue on strike slowly secure other men, a few at a time, from other cities to run their cars. The new men have a right to come and take the places made vacant by the strikers, and must be protected in that right if it requires all the power of the city and the State. One of the new motormen—"scabs," the strikers call them—being asked if he is not afraid of the angry mob, answers grimly: "No; I have a wife and five hungry children

looking to me for bread. It is easier to face the mob than to face them." Another "scab," when threatened by the strikers, replied resolutely: "Let me alone. I have a right to earn food for my motherless children up in Connecticut."

4. The labor leaders earnestly caution their men from the first to abstain from violence and lawlessness. Nine tenths of the strikers, perhaps, obey and refrain from molesting the new men and from injuring the property of the companies. But it is a heavy strain on suffering human nature for them to see the trolley magnates triumphing over them and destroying their hopes, by filling their places with other men who do not belong to their labor organizations; and a few of the strikers, unable to bear this strain, begin to intimidate and assault the new men and in various ways try to prevent the running of cars. Wires are cut, tracks are torn up or obstructed, car windows are smashed, motormen and conductors are stoned, pulled off the car platforms, and brutally beaten. The danger is intensified by the fact that liquor saloons, where many of the strikers congregate, put that into their mouths which steals away their brains, inflames their blood, and deprives them of self-control. A crisis is at hand. Some of the strikers are becoming responsible for crime, thus challenging the law. Violence must be suppressed at any cost. And now a battle is in sight which can have but one end—an end in which, sad to say, there is no comfort for the working-men standing out for their rights. Government and authority dare not parley with violence and destruction; lawbreakers must be restrained by force; order and peace must be restored at all hazards. The initial issue, the disagreement between the labor unions and the trolley companies, is now pushed into the background by a more ugly and desperate conflict. Labor has lost the floor by the folly of some of its sons; its motion, which was seconded by the community, is indefinitely postponed. The authorities responsible for law and order call the previous question on a motion to put down violence. The cause of the poor workingman begins to be in a sorrowful plight.

5. By the time this stage is reached, if not before, the unhappy laborers suffer a new and undeserved calamity. All the vicious classes, the toughs and hoodlums, the motley crew of vagabonds and villains that infest all cities, gangs of young rowdies, anarchists, thieves, thugs, and drunkards, gather on the scene with no desire but to create disorder and make trouble. The foulest scum of Europe boils up from the slums and pours itself in among

honest workingmen. Riot and arson, destruction of property, brutal assaults on persons, jeering defiance of all authority break loose and threaten all things. The strikers, whose purpose was orderly and whose requests were lawful and right, are by this irruption of the barbarians mixed up indistinguishably with the offscouring of the earth and involved in apparent responsibility for anarchic disorder. And now we see the cause of labor in a forlorn, desperate, and pitiable case. The situation is one which the strikers did not desire and are not as a body responsible for; which they of all men have reason most bitterly to deplore; but of which they are the helpless victims. In the streets law is being trampled in the dust. In places there is no safety for property or life. There is, in such a case, but one course for civil government, set to preserve peace and protect society. The police proving insufficient through lack of numbers, or inefficient through cowardice or sympathy with the strikers, the militia are ordered out. Thousands of soldiers are quickly under arms. Batteries wheel out of armories and are planted in public squares and at other commanding points. Regiments come marching down the streets. The mob, enraged at this armed menace, hoots and yells, "Get out, you tin dudes!" Stones and other missiles are showered at the soldiers. Bricks from chimney tops are thrown from house roofs to crush the skulls of the military. Members of the police and militia are carried bleeding to hospitals. The troops represent order and law; the mob represents anarchy. The issue is sharp and inevitable. The officers bear it unflinchingly with soldierly self-control until the assault on their men is deadly. The crowd is warned to desist and disperse, but pays no attention to the order. Only one thing can happen now. "Make ready! Aim! Fire!" The volley goes into the mob. The next-to-the-worst event has happened, in order to save us from the worst. The strikers as a body are not to blame; they only ask what they had a right to demand. The soldiers are not to blame; they have only done their duty to the public welfare at the peril of their own lives; they are acting as the bodyguard of civilization. Young fellows mostly they are; but Captain John Bigelow was only just turned twenty-two when at Gettysburg, on the second day, he fought his Ninth Massachusetts Light Battery from the Peach Orchard angle to the Trostle House, until he had lost twenty-eight men and sixty-five horses, was himself disabled by two wounds, and not enough were left to work the battery. In like manner, no doubt, if need be, these soldier boys will do their

duty manfully, until peace and safety are restored to the city. Older men forget what splendid and heroic manliness twenty-one years may develop. But at this point the most widely tragic and lamentable thing is that the ill-fated cause of honest labor has gone down before the guns, having got itself mixed, as so often happens, with lawlessness and riot, and lies now bleeding from many wounds, overwhelmed with irretrievable disaster. *Dire dénouement* for the cause of the innocent ! Many blameless and needy ones plunged into a bottomless abyss ! Unutterably disheartening spectacle for angels and men !

Everybody knows that, under the methods now in use by labor unions, on one side, and corporations, on the other, the procession of events as seen in Brooklyn last January is liable and likely to be duplicated in the main elsewhere. The same dismal and disastrous story goes on repeating itself from year to year with melancholy monotony, the only uncertainty being where the sickening tragedy will be enacted next. So long as such things are possible ours is a lame, rickety, stumbling civilization. We have thus far made only a horrible failure in regulating the relations of employers to employed and of corporations to the public. Our statutes are a mockery, a grief, and a disgrace. Our system of laws is inadequate. Like a bridge too short to reach either shore, it does not sufficiently restrain the action of labor unions, at one end, or of capital, at the other. In particular, it fails to seize the biggest offenders with a grasp from which they cannot get away. It needs to be added to by skillful and conscientious engineers, until it spans the gulf and justice can pass all the way to and fro between the two sides, to adjust their interests in such equitable fairness that the wrath of God shall not abide on the situation and punish society with perpetual turbulence and misery. The planks of that bridge must be laid on the framework of Christ's Golden Rule. Until we ordain and establish righteousness we will have no rest ; the stars in their courses will fight against us, and the very stones of the field will refuse to be at peace with us—they will leave their resting places and come flying at our heads.

The cause of the workingmen is in bad shape. They have not yet hit upon the best plan for self-protection. Their case is mismanaged for them, and they are victimized by the stupid or reckless folly of incompetent, unscrupulous, and largely irresponsible leaders. They are led into hopeless struggles from which nothing but loss and distress can come to them and their families, and are

often forced by officers of their unions to continue on strike, when it is plain their battle is lost and when they earnestly desire to resume work on the terms offered. On the fourteenth day of the Brooklyn strike Master Workman Connelly admitted that it was a mistake to have ordered the strike, when so many men all over the country are out of employment ; admitted, further, that the situation had become such that further prolongation of the strike meant ruin to many of the workingmen ; and yet, in almost the same breath, declared that he had no intention of calling the strike off. To the Brooklyn strikers the following bright gleam of sense came from a distance over the wires :

ST. LOUIS, January 24.—At a meeting last night of the Building Trades Council, delegates being present from each of the thirty-two trades unions in St. Louis, a new and most radical constitution was adopted. One of the most important changes made by it is the abolition of the office of walking delegate. The preamble is a strong one. It boldly asserts that strikes are unnatural and that boycotts are un-American ; and both methods, which have been pursued by unions all over the country to subserve their ends, are discountenanced. Arbitration is the method that will be employed in settling difficulties between employees and employers in St. Louis hereafter.

The cause of public welfare is in equally bad shape. We have not yet hit upon the best way of protecting ourselves from the rapacious greed, stony selfishness, and formidable influence of corporations. It is intolerable that, in a case where labor, asking for living wages, stands making overtures to submit the whole dispute to impartial arbitrators, capital should refuse to consent to arbitration, while a million of people are compelled to wait, with their business nearly at a standstill, until one party to the quarrel shall starve the other out. A community that has passed through such an infliction is of opinion that corporation officers who show no regard for the public comfort, and who, even when appealed to by the mayor and others on behalf of the interests of the city, refuse to yield an inch and keep answering stubbornly, "We have nothing to arbitrate," deserve to be punished by long imprisonment at hard labor ; and the dishonest companies that uphold their officers in such a course deserve to be muled in fines heavy enough to reduce them to bankruptcy. There is need of some power, equipped with apparatus capable of sudden efficiency, to compel both parties in disputes which incommoded and afflict the public to submit their differences to a court of arbitration, and to continue their service of public needs without inter-

mission until decision is given, by which they should then both abide.

It will not be easy to make our laws what they ought to be, touching these acutely distressing matters; for of legislators two classes are in the way—those who are afraid of the labor vote, and those who are owned by the corporations. Moreover, the corporations employ able and cunning lawyers who, by fictitious procedures and ingenious trickery, can generally circumvent such laws as now exist. Apparently, there is no trolley line to the millennium; we may have to foot it all the way; but we must keep moving forward, and not back. *We must!*

THE METHOD OF UNSUPPORTED DOGMATIC ASSERTION.

The American Catholic Quarterly Review refers with satisfaction to the liberty of thought which the Roman Catholic Church permits her children in all questions which do not trench on faith or dogma, in all questions on which the Church has not pronounced; as, for example, scientific questions, which can only be decided by science, and for many of which the *data* necessary for proof are not yet possessed. So far as this liberty exists in the Catholic Church, it is evidence that she is wiser than she once was, having learned something from her expensive mistakes. Such liberty is right and necessary everywhere. Clearly, any Church would make a mistake if it should commit itself, and bind its ministers and members, to any particular scientific theory in astronomy, chemistry, geology, anthropology, zoology, or biology; to any special form of civil government or doctrine of political economy; to any particular system of physics, metaphysics, or philosophy; to any particular chronology, secular or biblical; to any one theory of inspiration, as against all others; to any one attempted interpretation of the infinite mystery of the Trinity; to any one exposition of the incarnation and the hypostatic union of divine and human in Jesus Christ; to any one among the many philosophies of the atonement; to any one opinion as to the nature of the body in which our Lord appeared in the various Christophanies after his resurrection; or to any calculation of the precise date at which, or manner in which, the Saviour's second coming will take place.

Refraining from promulgating any fixed and final decision on such disputed secondary matters, the Church should manifest the sweet reasonableness of its adorable Master, and confine its dog-

matic and authoritative declarations to those fundamentals which are indispensable to its organization and life and essential to the structure of the Christian faith, and to such doctrines as contain important and well-ascertained truths of religion, not likely to be altered by new light or any progress of the human mind. This course means safety and solidity for the Church, as well as liberty for her children; it insures that they will respect and revere her, and not employ their education and intelligence in quarreling with her; and it enables her to move serenely on, in the comfortable and sustaining confidence that the future can bring her no intellectual humiliations. Say ye to such a Church that in all the ages to come it shall be well with her.

We are sorry, however, not to be entirely sure that the Roman Catholic is exactly that sort of Church. We regret to find, in the same number of the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, an editorial statement which forces us to doubt whether the free and independent exercise of individual intelligence is as habitual and general and strongly encouraged in that Church as our first quotation would lead us to infer. The statement is found in the notice of a book recently printed for its author, Dr. Mason Gallagher, by the Methodist Book Concern, entitled, *Was the Apostle Peter Ever at Rome?* and it is as follows: "Millions believe firmly in the Roman pontificate of St. Peter and its consequences, without being able to sift the value of the testimonies by which these tenets can be proved. *Even if Protestants could make out their case, that 'there is no historic proof that Peter founded the Church in Rome,' this would not make a single true Catholic waver in his faith; for we believe this and every other doctrine of faith on the authority of Holy Church.*" (Italics ours.) From which, if we understand English, it appears that, if and when the Catholic Church asserts, as a historic fact, something which is not declared in the Scriptures and which concededly *can be shown to have not a single particle of historical evidence to warrant it*, not one true Catholic will think of questioning the correctness of the assertion. This looks to us like abject submission of the intellect to the wanton violence of sheer arbitrary authority. As Protestants and as members of a denomination whose founder avowed a tenderness for the better sort of Romanism, we would have hesitated to make so sweeping a statement concerning Roman Catholic Christians, especially after the article by Rev. C. C. Starbuck, on "Dogma and Opinion within Roman Bounds," in the last September number

of our *Methodist Review*, and with Dr. Carroll's article in our present number on "Our Attitude toward Roman Catholics;" but we are scarcely at liberty to question its truth, since it comes from an authority that must know more about it than we. It enables us to understand how such new-fangled dogmas as papal infallibility and the immaculate conception of the Virgin can be promptly and blindly accepted by a world-wide Church as soon as promulgated.

Contemplating this openly avowed and boasted capacity for deglutition of the intellectually indigestible, our curiosity finds a fresh interest in the future in wondering what may be the next bolus or capsule of unscriptural, unhistorical, unintelligible absurdity that will be administered by his holiness and a Vatican council to the docile and much-believing children of Holy Mother Church. At this point we sit back in Dr. Whedon's iron-framed chair to reflect, to take a momentary survey of this modern world, to ask the *Zeitgeist* a few questions; and, glancing up at the hands on the dial of human history to see what time it is, and noting that the twentieth Christian century is about to strike, we cannot help having grave doubts whether the method of unsupported assertion is likely to prove the best for any Church to practice that hopes for success in competing for the respect and trust of mankind to-day. Each sunrise diminishes the utility and feasibility of such methods.

Lying open before us is the authentic papal encyclical issued from St. Peter's, June 20, 1894, "to the rulers and nations of the world;" not the forged one referred to by Dr. Carroll. It is a yearning appeal from a man who, therein, writes of himself, "We hold upon this earth the place of God Almighty." It is an urgent invitation to us all to make haste to submit ourselves to the authority of the see of Rome, to the successor of Peter and vicar of Jesus Christ. While we are reading, analyzing, and weighing the invitation, Cardinal Gibbons thinks it necessary to assure us that, if we accept it, we will not enter "into a servile and abject condition, unworthy of men endowed with reasoning faculties," but will find a blessed state where all our beliefs will be decided for us and all our problems settled, and wherein we "will never experience any anxiety or doubt," but "will rest in contentment, and the angels of peace will hover around." His eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, thinks this invitation "deserves to be widely answered." We have heard no response of the kind he desires. Our own answer is that we have an innate fondness for liberty of in-

terpretation and opinion ; we find Protestant freedom agreeable, wholesome, and precious. We are unwilling to surrender it. We could not live without it. With it, freedom and progress of every kind are bound up; and the Roman Church must continue increasingly to acquiesce, and more and more to adjust itself to the independence of free thought, or it must drop out and fall behind the procession. We belong to the number of those who are not so constituted as to make good subjects of a gentleman who introduces himself as God Almighty's deputy, on what seem to us insufficient credentials, and expects us to receive, as unquestionable truth and extra-scriptural, unsupported historical assertions for which it is demonstrable that there is not anywhere the slightest historic evidence. With due appreciation of the offer to relieve us of all anxiety and doubt, we do not care to lose any of our doubts by having the liberty to doubt taken away from us. Acknowledging the courtesy of the gracious, compendious, and commodious hospitality proffered by Leo XIII and pressed upon us by his Baltimore cardinal, we must reply that constitutional disabilities and other circumstances beyond our control oblige us to decline. We are unable to find rest for our souls in unsupported human assertions of whatever kind.

POPULAR NULLIFICATION OF LAW.

POPULAR nullification of law has long been one of the most alarming symptoms of disease in the national body politic. It indicates perverted conceptions of right and duty, preference of illegal remedies, raging passions not amenable to sound reason, and deadly injury to the moral order and best interests of society. It has been, and still is, apparent in inhuman treatment of the Indians, denial of political rights guaranteed by the national constitution to citizens of African descent, outrages on person and property—notably by dealers in intoxicants—and murderous assault on Mongolian strangers domiciled within our limits. It has been, and still is obvious in hostility to white citizens who exemplify by word and deed their faith in the doctrines fundamental to American institutions. The lawlessness of the impecunious vagrants who, in the year of grace 1894, appropriated railroad trains as means of conveyance, impeded traffic, and defied local authority, terrorizing the communities through which they passed while on the way to Washington with the avowed purpose of dictating legislation worthy only of a lunatic asylum, is only a

specimen of that common to a numerous and widely diffused class of nullifiers. The labor strikes which began in the shops of the Pullman Palace Car Company, which were sustained by the American Railway Union, and were countenanced to some extent by sundry members of the trades unions—strikes attended by the stoppage and destruction of freight and passenger trains, pillage and arson, bloodshed and murder, detention of the United States mails, inconvenience and loss to the entire commonwealth—all indicate the same abnormal condition. Fraudulent registration, repeating at the polls, stuffing the ballot boxes, intimidation of legal voters, mendacious returns of the votes cast, and political assassinations, like that of Robert Ross in the city of Troy, spring from the same troubled source. White Cap indignities, floggings, woundings, and expulsions, inflicted on objectionable persons of native and foreign birth, are outbursts of the same ailment. So are the lynchings of white and colored people—of colored more than of white—known, suspected, or alleged to be guilty of theft, murder, or rape. These fall with peculiar severity on negroes charged with crimes against Caucasians; while like crimes committed by the latter against the former are frequently either condoned by public sentiment or punished by comparatively mild reprobation.

In the period between January 1, 1888, and October 15, 1893, no less than 1,045 lynchings occurred within the United States and Territories. The phenomena of unlawful killing for alleged offenses has become so common that recurrence fails to occasion surprise. Fifty-two accused negroes were murdered by mobs in 1882. In subsequent years the number of victims intermittently increased—to 169 in 1891. In the latter year 26 whites—a number 143 less than that for the negroes—were summarily lynched by sanguinary mobs. Not one of these 1,045 atrocities was committed in New England, Delaware, or New Jersey, and only one in each of the States of New York and Pennsylvania. Yet the evil spirit which culminated in them has been more or less rampant in all the States, and particularly in the Western ones. In the South, the number varies from 26 in North Carolina to 104 in Mississippi. In ten years, the mob-murder of negroes included 269 charged with rape, 253 with murder, and 179 with lesser transgressions. As communities sow, so they reap. Crime against criminals multiplies crime. This is the lesson of the ages. The *vendetta*, whether in Corsica or America, is the malignant parent of assassin broods. It is a consuming fire, scorching religion and good morals,

blotching civilization, and impairing social welfare. Criminals must be held to account, but not by infuriated mobs. Wrongs must be redressed, but not by maddened crowds. Otherwise, no limits can be assigned to the mischiefs and calamities that must inevitably ensue.

One of the most reassuring signs is the well-nigh universal commendation of the check not long ago given to popular nullification of law by the State troops of Ohio. The miscreant endangered in this instance was a vile negro just released from jail, who had fiendishly outraged a woman of whom he had begged food and whom he left as dead on the floor of her dwelling. Arrested, confessing his guilt, and sentenced to suffer extreme penalty in twenty years imprisonment, the popular anger against him waxed so fierce that the sheriff applied for State aid to protect the miserable life while on the way to the State prison. Two companies of militia, under the command of a brave and resolute officer, were sent for that purpose, and also to vindicate the supremacy of law. The mob attacked the jail, refused to desist when entreatingly warned, and were fired upon by the soldiers. Three were slain by the volley, and fifteen, including two women, were wounded. The troops did not fire in defense of the villain, but of Christian civilization. Governor McKinley and all law-abiding citizens applauded their deed. Next day, the prisoner was safely incarcerated at Columbus. The lesson to intending lynchers was stern, but just and merciful. Lawless brutality, usurping the prerogatives of qualified authority, quailed before the majesty of law. The wretch was not worth saving, but the obligations of just and equal laws were. The wise, collective will of the people, and not the rage of insensate assemblages, should govern all executive procedure. All resistance to its mandates must necessarily be at the peril of rebels. Anarchy cannot be allowed to supplant civil government.

The Ohio tragedy, in common with all the widespread disquieting phenomena referred to, was the product of temporary reversion on the part of crude, excitable individuals, to primitive savagery—a reversion that threatened to sweep all the institutions and safeguards of society into chaos. Such retrogressions fill observant minds with forebodings of evil for the future of the republic. They show how imperfect is the evolution of individuals and of large sections of the people into ideal embodiments of intelligent self-control and patriotic action. Liberty gained to-day is lost to-morrow wherever the backward tide is not stayed. If, as in the era of the Israelitish judges, men do only what is

right in their own eyes, all the barriers to greed, lust, and barbarity are broken down, and might marches on unchecked to the destruction of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Contempt of established law, habitual infraction of its rules, and unrestrained indulgence of brutal instincts, have in all communities been fatal to equity, justice, and philanthropy, and, no less certainly, the precursors of despotism and slavery.

The general approval of civil and military administration in Ohio is by no means the only gleam of light relieving the gloom of our national landscape. The judicious and rightful exercise of governmental powers by President Cleveland and sundry State chief magistrates; the cooperation of the best elements in American citizenship; the patient, but firm and measured, determination to enforce the laws; the stern front exhibited to insubordination; the intense desire to understand and remedy the evils in which outbursts of popular discontent originate, evidenced by the writings of Christian sociologists and the labors of Congressional and State committees—are all prophecies fraught with significance and cheer. They voice the conviction, gendered by long experience, that wise laws, kindly and firmly enforced, are of prime importance to the welfare and progress of the race. They mark an advance on the policy of noninterference with lawlessness, which has been so conspicuous in the past as to attract close attention from students of the American commonwealth, like Professor James Bryce. He, in 1889, remarked that "homicide is hardly a crime in some parts of the South," that private war and brigandage in some States were regarded with somewhat of sympathy, and that lynch law was held to be simpler, cheaper, and more effective than judicial process. Yet even then the Molly Maguire conspiracy in Pennsylvania, the Pittsburg riots of 1877, and the Cincinnati riots of 1884 alarmingly pointed to "those volcanic forces which lie smoldering in all ignorant masses, ready to burst forth upon sufficient excitement." They also demonstrated that democracy "must be prepared, no less than other governments, to maintain order by the prompt and stern application of physical force." It does maintain order when occasions of sufficient magnitude require it. But such occasions would be less in frequency and force were the claim, that "probably more laws are quietly suffered to be broken in America than in either England or Germany," farther from the truth. Accepting the compliment that "so far, indeed, is insubordination from being a characteristic of the native Americans that they are con-

spicuously the one free people of the world which, owing to its superior intelligence, has recognized the permanent value of order and observes it on every occasion, not least when a sudden alarm arises," it clearly follows that such perception and practice should be cultivated diligently in native citizens, and also implanted and fostered in citizens and strangers of foreign birth. Growth toward perfection is the condition of stability, health, and fruitfulness—a truth more distinctly perceived and deeply felt by the nation now than in any previous era.

Absolute regard for historic and contemporaneous facts is of first necessity to legislation and administration. "The general and perpetual voice of men is as the sentence of God himself. For that which all men have at all times learned Nature herself must needs have taught ; and God, being the author of Nature, her voice is but his instrument." Obeying the dictates of that voice by striving to reach that perfection of personal and collective being which is "a triple perfection—first, a sensual, consisting in those things which very life itself requireth, either as necessary supplements, or as beauties or ornaments thereof ; then, an intellectual, consisting in those things which none underneath man is either capable of or acquainted with ; lastly, a spiritual or divine, consisting in those things whereto we tend by supernatural means here, but cannot here attain unto them"—the laws of men adopted for self-guidance are conformable to that all-embracing law "whose seat is the bosom of God, whose voice the harmony of the world."

The evolution of beneficent law, organic and statutory, is commensurate with that of ethics; the evolution of ethics with that of religion; and the evolution of religion with that of oneness with Christ. His spirit, permeating and guiding moral life and thus making it one with his own, is the essential and eternal force that works in us unto individual and collective perfection. As the expositor of this force, as the ambassador of the divine-human Saviour to a perishing, but salvable, world, the great apostle to the Gentiles intelligently and worthily magnified his office. So does every minister in the true following of the apostles. He preaches the law of God, as does the author of the 119th Psalm, as the touchingly benevolent expression of his infinite knowledge, wisdom, and love, as the solvent of providential mystery, as the infallible leader to wholeness of being, fullness of peace, and eternity of bliss. In the sanctions of that law, in the fulfillment of promise and penalty, the divine goodness is no less obvious. If the blessing be refused and the curse

be chosen, the choice is one of moral freedom and reflects no discredit on the Lawgiver, whose mind and will in respect of his subjects are not unto death, but unto eternal life. "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes. The fear of the Lord is clear, enduring forever: the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. More to be desired are they than gold, yea, than much fine gold: sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb. Moreover by them is thy servant warned: and in keeping of them there is great reward." (Psalm xix, 7-11.) They, in the fullest development of them by the Great Teacher, constitute an inerrant and all-sufficing rule of faith and practice. "The moral law, properly so-called, is the law of the perfect man, is the law of ideal conduct, is the statement in all cases of that which should be." Generalizations of universal human experience, crystallizing into ethical laws, under the skillfullest manipulation of patientest, most laborious, and gifted men, are confessedly inadequate to human need. The law of Christ lays down complete principles of conduct, and intrusts application of them to men. Wisely and benevolently applied, the law of Christ solves all difficulties, properly adjusts the relations of men to each other, and uplifts them most nearly to ideal life. Perfection, save of love, is not of this world. It will be the characteristic glory of that world which shall be when the Lord shall have made all things new. But this assurance does not relieve mankind from the keenest scrutiny of facts and causes, search for effective means of melioration, faithful trial of what seems best at the time, diffusion of knowledge, and concerted effort for the greatest good of the greatest number. The art of government in all its branches demands the highest qualifications of those to whom its practice is intrusted. The legislator, the jurist, the executive official hold public office as a public trust, and that for the good of the public, and not of themselves primarily. When this patent truth is ingrained in the public consciousness, voices itself in the election of unstained candidates, and actuates the public conduct of all servants of the people, then most of the unrest, violence, and fear of the nineteenth century will have passed away. The upward pathway of the nation will, for aught we can see to the contrary, be through friction, toil, and trial; but popular nullification of law will be wholly among the phenomena of the past.

THE ARENA.

PUL, JAREB, TIGLATH, AND THE CORRECTIONS.

In the "Arena" of the January *Review* appears a kindly paper on my article of November for which I render to Professor Rogers, of Drew Theological Seminary, sincere thanks. In response, I submit the following:

1. That Tiglath-pileser III and Pul are names for one and the same person was absolutely determined to my complete and perfect satisfaction by the biblical historian in 1 Chron. v, 26, accepting the interpretation of Sir Henry Rawlinson. This, and that Jareb is simply another name for the same king, is not now new, but largely accepted. The latter idea, however, when years ago it first occurred to me, was original, having at that time, so far as I know, nowhere been published. What I supposed to be new, and what it was my purpose to subject to scrutiny, was the method of accounting for the apparent discrepancies between the biblical account and this identification, without discrediting either the Hebrew or Assyrian records. That Pul and Tiglath were one and the same person is the absolutely essential fact upon which my solution of the chronological problem proceeds. The identity of Poros with Pul is of no manner of consequence to my purpose. The name—introduced with a *caveat*, in an incidental way—became in some sort an apology for not inserting Poros as a fourth appellative of the great Tiglath. It is probable, perhaps (hardly yet certain), that Pul and Poros refer to the same person; but why Poros should be used, instead of either Pul or, especially, Tiglath-pileser III, so well known and renowned, and that by an Egyptian so late as the second century of our era, passes my comprehension, at least, and awaits explanation. Neither is it very satisfactory to be told that *Pul* is the Persian form of *Poros*, since the query arises as to how it happened that one who bore a Persian name should be king of Assyria in the time of Menahem, since at that time the Persians had hardly come to the surface, the same being largely true even at the date of the usurpation of the Tiglath (745) who for so long a time was known to Assyriologists as the second, but now as the third, king of that name. I have no complaint to make against any who may think the identification absolutely certain, it being matter of utter indifference to me, not in the least affecting any purpose or result that I have in view. It has sometimes happened, however, that so-called certainties have been subsequently recognized as uncertainties or mistakes, positive contradictions being by no means *rare ares* in Assyriological investigations. I repeat, what I have always held, that I accept as true in regard to dates and, for the most part, as to facts clear statements in the Assyrian records when these are consistent with themselves, and hold that supposed or apparent discrepancies in synchronization with the historical records of other peoples—especially the Hebrews—are due either to misreading or to mistaken interpretation or application, and not to the

records themselves. Of course, when Shalmaneser is so read as in one account of the battle of Karkar to be made to say that he slew 14,000 men, and in another account 20,500, and in still another 25,000, one can hardly think all these numbers accurate; but that does not invalidate the actuality of the battle or the date when it took place.

2. As to the paragraph referring to Asshur-lush (or *nirari*) and Asshur-dayan (or *dan*) there is no mistake, except a typographical one—*e* for *i* in the first syllable of *nirari*, my letterpress copy being correct. Dates were intentionally omitted, as not necessary for my purpose, the only date needed—that of the eleventh year of Assur-dan, the eighth year of Menahem—B. C. 763, being given in the subsequent paragraph. It may be well to add that dates in both the Assyrian and Hebrew chronology are for the most part dependent upon the years and successions of the rulers—aided, in the Assyrian, by the succession of certain subordinates, chiefly by the eponym, whose official term seems to have had a fixed limit. Neither knew anything of our eras; and the transfer to our figures may or may not fairly represent their meaning or date.

3. As to authorities, Professor Rogers seems to me somewhat too broad in his disparagement of Rawlinson and Smith. At all events my quotations from them were sufficient for my purpose and are not shown to be erroneous, and thousands can verify them who never have access to Schrader, Winckler, Rost, or Pinches. Yet I did not rely exclusively upon them, since before naming them at all I had quoted from Schrader his exact words. So, also, other authorities are given.

4. I now venture to affirm that it is not clear to me that Shalmaneser IV is the same person as Ululai, nor that Assurbanipal "was known as Kandalanu at Babylon;" and that I am more and more inclined to the belief that the list of rulers of Babylon enumerated in the Ptolemaic canon, down to the fall of Nineveh (B. C. 607-606, Schrader), were, with few, if any, exceptions, simply rulers (viceroys or governors, as were the satraps of the Persian period) appointed by and subordinate to the Assyrian kings; at times in rebellion; sometimes, as when the Assyrian monarch was elsewhere engaged or hardly pressed, exercising a quasi-independence. That seems incontestably the case as to Nabopolassar, the last-named ruler of the series prior to the fall of Nineveh, who ruled from 625 to 604. The taking of the year B. C. 625 for the beginning of his rule and Schrader's date for the destruction of Nineveh justifies the title of viceroy, and also favors the story that his treachery, when in command of a division of the forces of the king, Saracus, precipitated the siege and destruction of the city and the disintegration of the Assyrian empire. As to the first ruler in this list, whose rule began two years before Tiglath ascended the Ninevite throne and continued until 733, it is incredible that so enterprising a king as Tiglath, who in 745 marched his army into Babylonia, should have passed the chief city without molestation if it had not been already subject to his power and ruled by a subordinate. If, then, the indications are that the first and the last of this series were viceroys or governors under the Assyrian kings, why should not those intermediate be the same?

Exceptions there may possibly be, as in the case where the Assyrian king administered directly, as did, perhaps, Sargon (Sarrukin) and Esarhaddon. Until after Kandalanu—Kinelandanou—(626) the names familiar to historians and Assyriologists do not appear either in the Greek or the Babylono-Assyrian or Persian form, while the pregnant fact remains that, from the fall of Nineveh, the names of the historic rulers are recognized in all these forms as the kings common to all histories of that period.

5. As to my "main thesis," I assume that Professor Rogers found the facts on which I rely to be as stated—as far as necessary for my purpose, which is to give a reason why the proved and admitted identity of Pul and Tiglath-pileser III can be accepted without necessitating any violence to either the Hebrew or Assyrian chronological statements. My hypothesis, deduced, as I think, from the two histories, simply suggests that, during not fewer than eighteen years, Pul, having assumed the title of King of Assyria, was in rebellion, his revolt beginning in the city of Asshur; that early in this struggle or combat with the reigning dynasty he exacted tribute from Menahem; and that he finally succeeded in his usurpation. If, in perfect accord with the Bible, Assyriologists teach us that Merodach-baladan could thus rebel, struggle, and combat for thirty years to secure a less valuable prize—the throne of Babylon—is there anything incredible in the hypothesis, which contradicts no known fact, that for eighteen years another rebel should in like manner contest for the greater prize—supremacy in the most powerful *imperium* in the Orient?

6. I beg space for a brief *credo*. (1) I believe that both the Hebrew and Assyrian chronologies will synchronize without violence to either. (2) I believe it necessary, to this end, to reject (a) the identification of *A-ha-ab-bu* as "Ahab," the son of Omri. The name is different in orthography, the dates of the two conflict, and Shalmaneser declares that, except Dadidri, the kings with whom he was at war were Hittites. We must reject, also, (b) the identity of *Sir-lai* with "Israel." "Sirlite" (Schrader, p. 189) is not "Israelite." *Sir*, as a proper name, is not found elsewhere for "Israelite," the names used being, *Mat bit Hu-um-ri*, or Samaria. If the kings were Hittites, Sir must be sought in their territory; and it may be identical with Es Sir, still existent near the battlefield of Karkar, the vicinity to which may have caused the marshaling of the entire population for the war. We must reject, also, (c) the identity of *Ja-u-a-a-bal Hu-um-ri-i* with "Jehu," the son of Nemshi. Instead of this, it is suggested that *Jau* is the Assyrian form of an affix or suffix which was used with the names of all but a few kings, both of Judah and Israel, from about Ahab's time downward. To Ahaz, one of these exceptions, the Assyrian added it. So familiar was it to the foreign ear that Necho, on deposing Jeho-Ahaz, elevated El-iakim to royalty by dropping the *El-* and adding *Jeho*—making his name "Jeho-iakim." (3) I believe that the tribute was paid by Jehoahaz to Shalmaneser, and that the Benhadad who commanded the Syrian contingent in the battle of Karkar was the son of Hazael, and not the Ben-hadad contemporary with Ahab.

Pittsburg, Pa.

JOSEPH HORNER.

PUL, JAREB, TIGLATH-PILESER III—A REPLY.

By the courtesy of the editor I am permitted to make reply to Dr. Horner in the same number of the *Review* in which his note is printed. I am very glad that Dr. Horner understood so well the spirit of friendliness in which my criticisms were offered. My respect for his great services to the Church during a very useful life and my estimate of his solid ability and undoubted acuteness make me hesitate to say anything more in the way of criticism of his former paper. But to his reply it is unfortunately necessary to take some positive, but equally friendly, exceptions:

1. As to authorities. I repeat that Rawlinson and Smith have been long since superseded in the progress of Assyrian studies, and that their use as authorities in Assyrian history must be abandoned.

2. If Dr. Horner does not believe that Shalmaneser IV is the same person as Ululai, and that Asshurbanipal is the same person as Kandalanu, he is absolutely without any support for his skepticism by a solitary modern Assyriologist who has written on Assyrian history. The modern authorities on Assyrian history are Tiele, Winckler, Hommel, and Delitzsch. The references to their books need not be given here. It is sufficient to refer to them in general, and to say that in every one of their histories the facts are found which Assyrian scholars universally accept as proving these identifications.

3. I am sorry that Dr. Horner felt it necessary to recur to the thesis of his article published in the *Methodist Review* in 1889. He has stated it again above under a *credo*. He denies that *A-kha-ab-bu Sir'-lai* is "Ahab the Israelite." (a) He says that the name is "different in its orthography." On the contrary, it is exactly the same in its orthography. Dr. Horner knows well enough that the second consonant is *cheth* in Hebrew. Does he not know that the second sign in the Assyrian word is written with the hard guttural which is identically the same? (b) He has misunderstood the sense in which "Hittites" is used by Shalmaneser. (c) He also denies that *Sir'-lai* is "Israelite," and quotes Schrader as translating it "Sirlite;" then he suggests that "Sirlite" is connected with Es Sir. In reply, let it be said simply that *Sir'-lai* represents accurately every one of the consonants in the word "Israel," save only the *yodh*, and *there is no yodh in Assyrian*. When Dr. Horner derives *Sir'-lai* from *Sir* he casts away both an *aleph* and a *lamedh*. The gentilic adjective formed from *Sir* would be in Assyrian *Sirai*, and in English would be "Sirite," not "Sirlite." Of course, this is simply a slip on his part, for he knows that in the Semitic languages one may not drop consonants in that way. In my article which appears elsewhere in the *Review* there is a footnote dealing with this theory of Dr. Horner. It was written before I had seen his "Arena" note to which I am now replying. I feel sure that Dr. Horner has not read Schrader's discussion to which I there refer, else would he never have subscribed his honored name to the impossible philological statements written above. (d) Dr. Horner calls *Jau* "the

Assyrian form of an affix or suffix." There is no such "affix or suffix" in Assyrian. *Ja-u-a* is the Assyrian method of writing "Jehu," for there is no *hē* in Assyrian.

4. I am sorry that Dr. Horner's insistence upon his "main thesis" compels me to say plainly that which I only hinted in the last number of the *Review*. His theory sets at defiance the plain statements in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and in the eponym canon. The king states explicitly his share in the great campaigns and locates them in his reign. (See the inscriptions published by Rost.) Dr. Horner asks us to believe that the campaign took place before Tiglath-pileser became king at all.

5. Dr. Horner is seeking to reconcile the Ussherian chronology with the facts as we know them. In order to carry out his scheme he is compelled to deny that Ahab and Jehu are mentioned in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser. All Assyriologists believe that these two kings are mentioned by name in these inscriptions. I have pointed out above that these names are accurately represented by the Assyrian signs which occur in the Shalmaneser texts, published elsewhere in this copy of the *Review*. Dr. Horner, in the further carrying out of his scheme, is compelled to suppose that Tiglath-pileser III invaded Palestine eighteen years before that king's own inscriptions and the eponym canon show that the invasion took place. It pains me to have to say that—in the face of the facts that I have here written down, and in the face of the other facts that are set down in Schrader's *Keilschriften und Geschichtsforschung* (Giessen, 1878), pp. 356-371 and 422-460, and in Winckler's *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 121, *ff.*, 221, *ff.*, and 192, *ff.*—Dr. Horner's entire scheme of reconciliation breaks down. I am sorry that this is so, for we sadly need some help on these evident chronological difficulties. I should have been very glad to have learned from him on this point. I have spoken with a little more positiveness than in my first note; but it is all written in a spirit of cordial appreciation of his zeal and excellent spirit.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

Madison, N. J.

THE HAWTHORNE RENAISSANCE.

THE Hawthorne *renaissance* comes like a breeze from the mountains into our thick literary atmosphere—refreshing, exhilarating, the breath of a new life. Much of the literature of our generation is like the toxic garden of Rappaccini, which grew plants of sinister and perilous beauty. Their flowers exhale poisonous odors. To inhale the noxious fragrance is to share the fate of the Paduan botanist's daughter and ourselves become living poisons. Among these mephitic growths we would place Tolstoi's *Kreutzer Sonata*, a brilliant bloom which has a vile smell; Beatrice Harraden's *Ships that Pass in the Night*, which has the deadly fascination of the irony of despair; Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *Robert Elsmere*, which deepens the gloom of doubt in a soul that aches for the light of faith; Haggard's *She*, a portraiture of whimsical and terrible impossibilities; and Du Maurier's *Trilby*, a transplanted upas which distills the fetid juices of

French romance. Besides these conspicuous plants there are thousands of smaller growth, but of equal peril, and a great mass of dead-born literature that makes the air rank with pestilential odors. Into this heavy atmosphere Hawthorne breathes again; and already is seen the promise of a more healthful tone.

We believe that Hawthorne's remarkable popularity at this time is not due to the exquisite finish of his style. None, indeed, of New England's geniuses wielded so graceful a pen, and none had a truer literary conscience. But a finished style is not appreciated by the mass of readers. It is an enjoyment which is the luxury of the few. Nor is it any cheerfulness in his stories that attracts. They are usually shadowed. The gloom of crime or some inexplicable mystery produces an intense and melancholy effect, sometimes a dreadful presentiment, which haunts the mind like a ghost of evil purpose. Nor is there anything in his stories to minister to a depraved heart. It is the spice of wickedness that often flavors the ordinary novel. And when it is removed, as was the case, in a measure, with George Sand in her later years, the charm is gone. It is said that with the elevation of moral tone there came a deterioration of her matchless style. Few men can tell the story of crime without either glorifying the wrong or making the suffering wrongdoer detestable. Hawthorne has done neither. He who reads the career of Hester or of Donatello and then suspects the writer of kindred wrongs knows not the mystery of a soul's clear vision. Such a sight is not given to corrupt hearts. Mrs. Hawthorne, who knew her husband's inner life, gives the only philosophical interpretation when she says: "He has always seemed to me, in his remote moods, like a stray seraph, who had experienced in his own life no evil, but by the intuition of a divine intellect saw and sorrowed over all evil."

We believe that the magnetism of Hawthorne's writings for the popular mind is the quality of mystery with which he endows nature and all life. That very feature of his work which has been most severely criticised is the actual possession of every soul. There is no man but feels that the visible world has meanings infinitely beyond what it reveals to the senses. The soul is wrapped in mists, portensions—vague, but potent with destiny. Wedded to ignorance, it expresses itself in ghostly superstition. It haunts a carnal life, and thunders its protest against the animalism of man. Scholarship recognizes it, but in searching for its meanings often loses its way in the pathless deserts of spiritism, theosophy, or some other "high imagination." We believe that the secret of our real life lies somewhere in these misty uncertainties, and not in the hard actualities of our daily existence. Aside from the inspired teachers, no man has accentuated this fact, and with a more healthful voice, than Hawthorne. He conducts the willing reader into this mystery as into the real.

In describing the reflection of the banks of the Concord in the mirror of the sluggish water he says: "The river has a dream picture in its bosom. Which, after all, was the most real—the picture or the original? —the objects palpable to our grosser senses, or their apotheosis in the

stream beneath? Surely, the disembodied images stand in closer relation to the soul." Whether it was his conscious aim or not, this is certainly the result of his appearance in the realm of literature. He has exhibited men and things, not as they appear in the outward actual, but as they are reflected in the stream of the soul's inner life. The whole world is to us as were the picture galleries of Rome to Hilda. Viewing them in the calm of her own innocence, she saw their divine glories. When her poor heart was weary with the commotion of her dreadful secret those same canvases had lost their color and warmth. Her acquaintance with sin threw great moral blotches on pictures which formerly were luminous only with divinity. It is the inward character that gives truth or falsehood to the outward life. This truth our author emphasizes in every story. Mother Rigby's scarecrow, vitalized by smoke from her pipe which was kindled with coals by old Dickon, is real enough in those pumpkin-headed and straw-hearted dudes who infest our homes. The man with a snaky nature, scarcely hidden under the guise of humanity, is reproduced before our very eyes in egotism and jealousy. There is no actual Faun; but who does not feel the strength of the great fact which is purposely portrayed in the story? Life is too sadly serious for such unrestrained simplicity of nature. Dull Salem is idealized with the charm of romance when we see the passion and struggle, the virtue and sin, of the souls that there lived. And so we hail the return of Hawthorne to the reading world. In an age of so-called realism and a strong materialistic drift he emphasizes the spirituality of man, the verity of the unseen.

Newark, N. J.

A. H. TUTTLE.

"DIVINE REVELATION."

UPON reading in the *Review* for January the article on the above theme by my friend, Dr. J. F. Chaffee, I was compelled, while admiring its many excellencies, to wonder why there should be such indefiniteness on the main point of the paper. If his meaning is that in this nineteenth century holy men have spoken "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" and, therefore, could say with Isaiah, "Thus saith the Lord," why did not he say so? If he did not mean quite this, is there anything new in the points for which he so earnestly contends, and which he announces as if they might strike some, at least, of his readers unfavorably?

Did not Paul say a good while since, "Every one of you . . . hath a revelation?" And have not the songs and sermons of almost every age breathed the same expectation, and demonstrated that not a few of the Church in every age have expected just the guidance and instruction which our brother affirms? That there is a possible revelation to every man and in every age no one should doubt; but to say that to-day any is authorized to declare his personal utterance to be the word of God, in the same sense that Paul or Daniel were, either, on the one hand, declares in rank fanaticism that which does not exist or, on the other, empties the Bible revelation of all its authority over the conscience, its reliability as a standard of morals, and its value as a basis for our faith and hope.

If even we had proof that Washington or Lincoln was "superior as a specimen of Christian manhood" to Moses or Daniel or John, does it logically follow that his inspiration was of superior, or even of equal, authority to theirs? God has in all ages authenticated his prophets, and so emphasized his direct messages that no mistake need be made with regard to any alleged revelation of this grade. The Ten Commandments were given to the people amid the light of supernatural fire, and in such a manner that every one of the nation became a witness to their source; while even Gideon was vouchsafed the token of a fleece. So we may reasonably expect that, if new law should be promulgated or new truth authoritatively uttered now, the man thus inspired would himself recognize the fact, would so declare, and would be amply able so to prove.

Owatonna, Minn.

HENRY G. BILBIE.

GOD MANIFEST IN THE FLESH.

WITHOUT controversy, but for the man Christ Jesus great would be the mystery of godliness. Because of him the mystery disappears. Godli-ness is possible only as the fallen human nature is displaced by the reborn, or divine, nature. In no sense did Jesus take on him the fallen human nature, but rather the regenerated human nature, which is by him revealed and demonstrated to be none other than the divine nature. His generation was of God in the womb of a virgin; but he was not half divine and half human. No part of him was of Jewish human generating. He was by the human to identify him with the human, but he was not of the human. Being the second Adam, he was as completely of God as was Adam. Melchizedek, by the loss of knowledge of his pedigree, was made like unto the Son of God, who was actually "without father, without mother." Mary was no more the mother of Jesus than Joseph was his father. He himself never recognized that she was his mother. He invariably called her "woman;" and when one announced her as his mother he specifically ignored the claim. He was Son of man, not by being born of the flesh, but, as all redeemed men ought to be, by being born of God. To be a son of man, that is, a redeemed man, not by natural generation, but by supernatural generation, is to be a son of God.

God's type of man is divine. In his own image created and recreates he him. What kind of masters in Israel are they who do not see all this? The old dispensation was a failure, not that the law was not perfect, but that men did not apprehend. Shall men persistently misapprehend now that God has set forth his Son? Apostolic identification of Jesus with humanity was with regenerated humanity. Peter saw this realized—men made partakers of the divine nature. John's first epistle is a statement of generation by Jehovah, as against all who, like Nicodemus, ask how these things can be? "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new" describes a new creation or nothing.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.**HOW TO WIN CONGREGATIONS.**

ONE of the great problems of the Church concerns the best methods of attracting the people to the house of God. The desire on the part of the preacher to have a crowded house is a commendable one. If he is in full sympathy with the Gospel, as the only remedy for humanity and as a necessity for the world's salvation, he should not be contented without addressing as many people as he can reach. This desire has led many to adopt certain methods of attracting the people which deserve special consideration.

The main difficulty is in securing an evening congregation, especially in our large cities and among what are recognized as our stronger churches. The members of the church and the regular attendants are in their places in the morning; but in the evening they are disposed to leave the church with which they are connected and yield to some special attraction which is offered elsewhere. This is especially true of the young people. They are not so much identified with their home congregation by habit or desire as the older people, and they are more easily inclined to change. It is important that they be reached, for their own sake and for the prosperity of the individual churches.

Any method of securing a congregation which, in the mind of the preacher, is of questionable propriety should be avoided. In other words, if a doubt arise in his mind whether the end justifies the means it should lead to the adoption of some plan which he can fully approve. No one can profitably employ a mode of work concerning the propriety of which he has any mental reservation. He becomes weak from the start when he lacks simplicity of purpose. His work has not the inspiration of sincerity which is essential to success.

Among these doubtful methods is that of sensational advertisements. A glance at the advertisements of Sunday services in our city newspapers will reveal many which come under this class. Sometimes topics are advertised which are purely worldly or, if not worldly, are expressed in exaggerated style. They must strike the reader as a desperate attempt to secure a congregation by adventitious methods rather than by the proclamation of the Gospel. The general defense for these advertisements is that in this way people can be drawn to the house of God, where they will hear the Gospel and be saved. Surely, they should be drawn to the house of God by fair representations. To present as a theme some trivial subject which will be attractive to the frivolous, and then to make the theme the basis of a solemn discussion, as is sometimes done, is not right; for had the attendant known that the text announced was to be used as a pretext he would not have come. He is, therefore, often harmed more than helped, feeling that the announcement was merely a bait to get him

there. He thus loses confidence, not only in the particular minister he has been listening to, but in the veracity of the whole body to which he belongs. The Church is in this way damaged by its own friends.

Again, worldly methods of attracting congregations have created a false appetite among the people. They have learned to look for something else than the pure Gospel when they come to the house of God. Such perverted tastes have been of great damage to our congregations. They have caused spasmodic, instead of steady, attendance. When some striking topic is announced the house is crowded; but when no such announcement is made it is assumed that there is nothing of interest to be heard, and so many do not attend or go elsewhere. If the minister adhered to Gospel topics when announcements were made, and held the congregation sacredly to Christian truth, there would be an inducement for going to church rather than to other places. The Church should be the depository of Christian truth. It should keep prominent the fact that the margin between the Church and the world is not narrow, but broad. There is no one who does not sometimes long to hear concerning the great salvation and how to attain it, who will not visit the church where he is most likely to learn most about it. A careful study of the congregations of our great cities will reveal the fact that the largest congregations are found in those churches where the methods to which exception has been taken are avoided.

Besides, there is danger of placing an exaggerated estimate upon the necessity of large congregations for the spread of the Gospel. Men are not usually converted in masses, but one by one; and he who devotes himself to those who come to the house of God through the ordinary ministrations of the Church will often win more souls to the Master than those who address the crowds. This is not intended as an argument against the large congregations, but simply shows that they are not essential to high usefulness. The great attraction of the church of Christ must ever be the truth that is proclaimed therein and the services of worship that are practiced there. There can be no substitute for the truth; nor can there be any substitute for the special truth which belongs to the house of God. It is not correct to say that all kinds of truth must be proclaimed by the minister of the Gospel. He is limited by the command of Christ himself, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." Whatever is properly included in the Gospel forms a part of the message of God's ambassador.

The best way to ascertain what is meant by the Gospel is by the study of the gospels and of the other writings of the New Testament. How broad its range will be apparent from a consideration of the subjects on which Christ gave instruction. The philanthropies of Christ were so all-embracing, covering all kinds of human need, that there is no proper movement of human reform or of legitimate human aspiration whose roots are not found in his teachings. When we come to the epistles, which are, in fact, commentaries upon and formulations of the gospels, the wide range of truth which belongs to the pulpit is manifest.

The truth, then, which the preacher must supply is the Gospel. It is a safe proposition that no topic for a sermon is legitimate which is not found in the Scriptures or is not clearly deducible from them. Subjects for sermons which grow out of the close and spiritual study of the book itself will be the most fruitful for good and, on the whole, the most interesting to the people. It is sometimes said that the people are tired of the Gospel. Not so. People never weary of Gospel preaching; for "it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

THE MINISTER AS AN EDUCATOR.

EDUCATION is not restricted in its meaning to the mere acquisition of knowledge and the development of the intellectual powers. It may properly include those attainments which are gained from constant familiarity with modes of thinking and forms of expression by which one person, and sometimes one community, is distinguished from another. In many parts of the country the Church is not only the spiritual center, but also the intellectual center. The pastor is, by virtue of his training and position, regarded as the standard of the proprieties of address and of social intercourse. The Church in that case is a kind of university center, molding the community in the midst of which it is placed. The minister's business as a spiritual educator is admitted. He is recognized as one who has had special opportunities to become acquainted with the Holy Scriptures and their theological formulation, as well as with the history of the Church of God. He is, also, believed to possess a rich spiritual experience, from which he can draw to comfort and instruct those who seek his aid. He is an educator in his modes of looking at the truth. He becomes an unconscious factor in determining the intellectual attitude of his people.

On a Sabbath, not long ago, the writer visited three prominent city churches and heard three excellent sermons. Each sermon was marked by peculiarities which were partly the result of the preacher's mental and spiritual character, and partly were due to his environments. In other words, each preacher was such as he was by virtue of qualities and powers inherent in him, and, also, of influences which came upon him from his congregation. Each one had been modified by his surroundings, as well as by his growth in knowledge and in religious experience. The morning sermon was written in full and delivered from manuscript. It was ethical in its character rather than devotional or doctrinal, and the preacher sought to arouse in his audience a conviction which would insure right living and devotion to human welfare. It was chaste in style, easy and natural in delivery, and from a purely critical standpoint might be regarded as almost faultless. It was in an Episcopal church, of High Church tendencies, and the preaching, both in matter and manner, was in harmony with the audience and the services.

The afternoon sermon was by a Presbyterian minister. The service was characterized by extreme simplicity. There was the absence of

ritual or of extended ceremonial of any kind. It is said that the opposition of the people to formalists of any sort, and even to special services for Christmas and Easter, is very marked. On these festal days no special displays of flowers will be seen at this church, which is one of the most fashionable and wealthy in the denomination. The sermon was on the "Precious Blood of Christ," and consisted of a simple and direct exposition of the passage, with an earnest appeal to the hearers to turn from sin and seek deliverance from its power by personal faith in the atonement of the Saviour. The sermon was without notes and simply and forcibly delivered. Again we were impressed with the unity of the service and the harmony of its every part with the audience. They all listened to the story of the cross with as much interest as others do to the most thrilling announcement of some new disclosure.

The last service of the day was in the evening, at another prominent church of great influence. The preacher was well known and popular. This sermon was read and sparkled with rich thought felicitously expressed. The appeal was to righteousness, especially in public life. It was an arraignment of wrongdoers, whether in high places or in low, and was listened to by a sympathetic audience. Again the sermon impressed the hearer as expressing the natural method of the preacher, modified by his environments. The sermon was excellent and unexceptionable, both in thought and method.

No criticism is here offered on either of these services; but they impressed the writer as fit illustrations of the preacher as an educator. The characteristic modes of thought and expression of these ministers were alike in some respects, yet the men were different in mental tone and in their way of looking at things. In the first, the æsthetic element predominated; in the second, the evangelical; in the last, the ethical. And yet all were permeated with the spirit and teachings of the Gospel. Each had his mission, and each was doing his work as seemed to him best for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. It has been said that the audiences seemed to be in harmony with the sermons. There is a sense in which, unconsciously, an audience molds the method of their minister; but more frequently the minister molds his audience. The pastors above referred to had each occupied the same pulpit for many years, two of them for a quarter of a century. In all these years the educating process had been going on. The general tone and the preacher's mode of looking at things had been influencing the people. These teachings had made the first of these congregations a people of æsthetic ideas; and so each of the others had taken on the general ideas of the minister.

If the preacher is thoroughly given up to the spiritual side of the Christian life and to pure evangelical thought he will become an educator of his people in this regard. If his attitude is critical, attacking all existing things in the Church, or if he is a destructionist rather than a constructionist, these tendencies will soon appear in his people also. If reformatory movements have absorbed him, an interest in these needs for Christian effort will also be communicated to his hearers. If he be an

expounder of the word, digging the pure gold from the great mine in which it has so long been stored, his people will grow in love of the word until they can say with the psalmist, "The law of thy mouth is better unto me than thousands of gold and silver." When the minister adopts either mode of address exclusively he will educate his people narrowly; but the true pastor will not cling to any one method of instruction. He will train his people in both the ethical and devotional ideas of Christianity, he will maintain the doctrinal and the practical. Out of the word he will bring things new and old; and thus, by God's grace, he will present himself, "approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, handling aright the word of truth."

THE PULPIT THE CONSERVATOR OF ETERNAL HOPE.

THE destruction of the teachings concerning a future for man would, viewed from whatever standpoint, prove a loss of boundless magnitude to the world. Yet we are not fully aware of the great necessity for the proclamation of the Gospel in order to preserve in the world "life and immortality."

This thought is suggested by a meeting, recently held in New York, to pay tribute to the memory of the late eminent novelist, Robert Louis Stevenson. The gathering, as was fitting, was addressed by some of the foremost literary men of our country. The point to be noted in the reports was the entire absence of any reference to a future life. The only immortality hinted at or suggested was that which should come from the permanent influence of his writings. The service was intended to do full justice to Stevenson's merits; and that was well done. This case is but a sample of the cases constantly occurring in which the present life is the entire boundary of the horizon of the speaker or writer who is paying tribute to the departed.

We are thus reminded of the necessity of the Gospel and of the Gospel ministry. Life and immortality are Gospel truths. They had been in the world before; but Christ made them clear, and they are the great heritage of our faith. This "blessed hope" had been declared in the Old Testament. The old philosophers had, with hesitancy, expressed the hope of a future life. But Christ first taught it clearly and demonstrated it by his own resurrection. He is "the resurrection and the life." The spirit of secularism has so pervaded modern thought that we may not expect that purely scientific and literary men will present this great hope so that it will be ever fresh to the people. The poets here and there will allude to it, and orators will speak of it; but unless they are permeated by the Gospel it will be dimly represented. What a glorious mission is here found for the minister of Christ! What a privilege to remind a world, in the midst of its cares and sorrows, that death is the gateway to a blessed immortality for all God's people! This is the preacher's sacred trust. If it is not proclaimed by him, humanity is in danger of losing sight of this most precious hope.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

THE *Book of the Dead* has been called the Bible of the old Egyptians. Such an appellation, however, is quite misleading, since it has little or nothing resembling the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, commonly known as the Bible. Champollion, before the contents of the book were fully known, called it a funerary ritual, and Lepsius, for the lack of a better name, the *Book of the Dead*. "A Guidebook for the Disembodied Spirit through Hades" would have been a more philosophical title. This sacred book of Egypt is to a large extent pictorial, being made up of representations of sacred animals, gods, and scenes illustrating the experiences of the soul in Amenti, that is, the nether world. Along with these pictorial representations we find hieroglyphic and hieratic inscriptions, containing minute details of the land beyond through which the soul had to make its dreary pilgrimage in order to reach Sechit-Aarru, or the fields of the blest. These representations and inscriptions are found carved or painted upon the walls of tombs, on sarcophagi, on the inside and outside of coffins, or written on papyri which were hidden in some vessel or niche in the burial chamber, placed in the coffin along with the mummy, and sometimes securely wrapped under the bandages.

It is important, at the outset, to bear in mind that the inscriptions thus found were not copied from the *Book of the Dead*, as, in our day, verses from the Bible are carved on tombstones; but, rather, the *Book of the Dead* is composed of inscriptions from various tombs and coffins. Accordingly, the sacred literature of Egypt, like that of most nations, shows a growth. Unfortunately, however, for the destructive critic, if the best Egyptologists are to be trusted, the older the text the purer and profounder the thought; retrogression, rather than progress, is very apparent. Not only were new chapters added from time to time, but old ones were rewritten, various explanations of words and difficult phrases were inserted, and what was simply intended as explanatory became, in the course of ages, incorporated in the text, so that it is often almost impossible to decide which is the original and which is the gloss or commentary. The *Book of the Dead* boasts of great antiquity. Perhaps it would be going too far to assert, with Maspero, that it "must have existed from prehistoric times;" yet there can be no doubt that portions of it date back to the first dynasty. It is a significant fact that much of the text was so corrupt as to be unintelligible as early as the eleventh dynasty. The oldest part of any length yet discovered is that found on what is believed to have been the coffin of Mycerinus, of the fourth dynasty, or B. C. 3633. It is now well known that several long chapters have been taken from the tombs of the fifth and sixth dynasties. These were, of course, in hieroglyphics, though hieratic writing is found in the sepulchral

chambers of the eleventh dynasty. According to Budge, one of the best authorities, there are in the British Museum fragments of the book written on papyrus which were found with the mummy of An-Antef, likewise of the eleventh dynasty.

The *Book of the Dead* is not a treatise on ethics, or in any sense a code of laws for the government of men in this life; neither is it a collection of prayers for use in the temples, nor even a ritual for funeral occasions. It is, rather, a collection of prayers or hymns for the guidance of the soul in Amenti. Amenti was no myth to the Egyptian, but, much more, a very real country, with its towering mountains, barren sands, and dangerous torrents full of boiling waters. The topography of this land was as well known to the priests as that of Egypt itself. According to the teaching of the hierarchy, the journey through Amenti, lasting for millenia, was beset with untold difficulties; for not only hostile demons and evil genii, but many subterranean beasts and reptiles as well, conspired to hinder the safe passage of the soul. Even the burning sand, all but destitute of life, was infested with horned vipers. The *Book of the Dead* was to aid the soul in overcoming all obstacles between himself and final bliss. The rubric at the end of the seventy-second chapter defines the object of the book so fully as to justify its insertion in this place: "If this book is learned upon earth or executed in writing upon the coffin he will come forth by day in all the forms he pleaseth, with entrance into his house without repulse. And there shall be given to him bread and beer and flesh-meat upon the table of Osiris. He will come forth to Sechit-Aarru, and there shall be given to him wheat and barley there; for he will flourish as though he were upon earth, and he will do all that pleaseth him, like those gods who are there, undeviatingly, for times infinite."

Not only was the soul able to assume the form of any animal or god, but the gods came to his immediate aid whenever he could speak the right word or formula. Hathor, the sacred cow, carried him on her back at full gallop over the highest hills and most dangerous places; Thoth, in the form of an ibis, bore the soul on his wings; and still other gods met him with the solar bark to convey him safely over the turbulent waters separating this world from paradise. As we see from the first line of the above rubric the prayers might be learned in this life. So great, however, were the difficulties to be encountered and the dangers to be avoided and so minute the directions for overcoming them that few, if any, Egyptians cared to trust the memory on so momentous a question. Even Ani, the great scribe of Amen-Ra, at Thebes, provided his tomb with a copy of these talismanic incantations and magical formulas.

The *Book of the Dead*, being a loose collection of inscriptions from various sources, gathered together into a whole something after the fashion of a modern hymnal, only with very much less care, would vary in size according to the time, place, and tastes of the collector. Naville has well said that the arrangement is purely artificial, without regard to doctrine, or even chronology. The number of chapters inscribed on a tomb or written in a papyri would also greatly depend upon the ability or affec-

tions of the deceased's relatives. Some burial chambers contain almost the entire collection and are, in other regards, genuine works of art. Some papyri are likewise complete and very costly, beautifully executed, containing not only the text, but illuminations, vignettes, and rubrics, and are elegantly painted, sometimes in more than a dozen colors. We have every reason for believing that the preparation of the tomb, with all its furnishings, inscriptions, and papyri included, if not directly managed by the priests, was yet under their direct control. The burial guilds would naturally keep a large selection of copies of the sacred book in stock, like other necessary articles for a decent burial, at prices to suit the customer. The carelessness with which many papyri have been made proves clearly that they are the work of unskilled men, ignorant not only of the subject, but of the very language, and that they were written for gain, and not from a sense of sacred duty.

Copies of the *Book of the Dead*, more or less complete, have been found in a thousand tombs or coffins. New ones are constantly coming to light. Grébaut, not long ago, found no less than fifty at Thebes. There are over a thousand papyri containing a portion of the book in different museums. Indeed, of the papyri hitherto discovered, fully nine tenths, according to Maspero, are manuscripts of this work. Two copies have been known for many years—the one in hieratic at the Louvre, published in part by De Rougé, and the other in hieroglyphic at Turin. The latter, so thoroughly studied by Lepsius and divided by him into one hundred and sixty-five chapters, is one of the longest. Lengthy, however, as the Turin papyrus is, there are quite a number of chapters found in other recensions which it does not contain. It is not easy to account for this, since several of the chapters omitted are among the most ancient. The most plausible explanation is that there were rival sects and several editions. These missing parts, called supplementary chapters, have been published by Pleyte, Leyden, 1881. The Turin papyrus, though in a very corrupt text and full of errors of various kinds, and though not as ancient and trustworthy as that of Ani, Nebset, or Nebseni, is, nevertheless, the one most frequently quoted, as in our day the Authorized Version of the Bible leads all others in the English language. This Turin papyrus was fully described and partially translated into German by Lepsius. Dr. Birch's English version from this papyrus has been known for many years. A few months ago Dr. Davis, of Meriden, Conn., published another translation, not directly from the original, but from the French of Pierret. Neither of the above English translations is entirely trustworthy. The Theban recensions are regarded as much more reliable than any others. In 1886, after many years of great labor in collating texts and inscriptions from sarcophagi, coffins, and other resources, Naville published his critical edition of the Theban period (B. C. 1700-1200). This excellent work is now in course of translation into our language by that eminent Egyptologist, P. Le Page Renouf. One hundred and six chapters have already appeared in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. The work is elucidated by copious notes, comparison of variants,

and explanation of difficult words. Renouf's edition when completed will be the finest translation into any modern language.

Like the sacred literature of most nations, the *Book of the Dead* has been regarded as inspired; indeed, we are assured that some parts of it were written by the finger of Thoth, the god of letters. Unlike the Old Testament, which has so little to say of the future life, and still less of an intermediate state, the *Book of the Dead* is devoted almost exclusively to the experiences of the soul on its tedious and toilsome journey to paradise. No one can study a page of this most ancient book or, indeed, any of the funeral customs of the Egyptians, without being fully convinced of their belief in the immortality of the soul and the final revivification of the mummy. Grotesque and crude as were these notions, they were, none the less, sacred truth to them. Moses, no doubt, was well versed in the sacred literature and theology of Egypt. So were the more intelligent Hebrews who, with their great leader, left Egypt for Canaan. How ridiculous, therefore, the assertion often made that the Jews knew nothing of a life beyond the grave until, at least, several centuries after the exodus! Since, however, the Egyptians held such distorted views and encouraged such needless expenses on the mummy and sepulture, and since they taught that Amenti was a middle place where reparations might be made for neglect in this world, it is not wonderful that Moses emphasized the present life, since he well knew that correct living in this world would be the best preparation for the life beyond. It will be conceded readily that silence on this subject is far better than the wild vagaries and extravagant teachings of the priests of Heliopolis or Thebes.

We should do the ancient Egyptians great injustice were we to say that they placed no stress upon a moral life on earth. Such an assertion is fully contradicted by chapter cxxv, sometimes called "the negative confessions." It portrays the last stage of the soul's probation, when about to enter the glorified state. The soul appears before Osiris, the judge of Amenti, and his forty-two associate judges. The heart is weighed in this august presence. The plate in the Turin papyrus describing the judgment day, in connection with this chapter, is the largest, completest, and most vividly real of any in the book. Some of the most notable asseverations are the following: "I did no witchcraft;" "I did not use too many words;" "I did not lie;" "I did not steal;" "I did not commit fornication, adultery, or self-pollution;" "I did not rob graves;" "I neither blasphemed nor robbed the gods;" "In short, I did no evil;" "I am pure, I am pure." It is then added, "I gave bread to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, a boat to the detained traveler, gifts to the gods, and funeral offerings to the glorified one; I am pure of mouth, I am clean of hands." The heart having balanced, the image of truth is now placed in the body of the deceased. This act is "a signal of the resurrection" and the beginning of everlasting life. The four parts of man, separated by death, are reunited, and the perfect being, in obedience to the welcome words, "Come, come in peace," takes his place among the immortal gods.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.**JAPAN'S FIRST "HERETIC."**

WHETHER the Japanese Christians are to prove themselves competent to develop a well-balanced Christian Church is still quite a serious problem. The antagonism to everything foreign, which has recently become the dominant sentiment of the entire population, has resulted in an effort to establish a wholly indigenous native Christian Church. They have attempted to formulate a creed of their own, which should not be borrowed from any existing organization of Christians outside of Japan, ancient or modern, and which should be independent of any symbols, even of the early Church. Some have gone so far as to antagonize the acceptance of the Apostles' Creed. Now that native Christians have organized a Church which they recognize as "Japanese," it looks as if they would adopt an ecclesiastical discipline as original as history records.

Already large attention has been called to the trial and humiliation of the Rev. Naomi Tamura, the pastor of a large city church in Tokio. He is described as a thickset, energetic man thirty-five years old, who graduated at Princeton, who has written commentaries, translated Cruden's *Concordance*, and started an industrial school for boys. He came to America to raise funds for this last enterprise, and in his lectures while here made some statements concerning his people which did not tally with Mr. Arnold's representations. Urgently requested to publish these lectures, he at last sold the manuscript to an American publishing house, and they appeared in book form, with the title *The Japanese Bride*. The volume contained some things not complimentary to his countrymen. Learning of this, they flew into a rage and, though few of them had ever seen the book, furiously condemned its author as unpatriotic. The Christians evidently thought that they must resist any implication of a lack of patriotism, and became furious too. They summoned Mr. Tamura for ecclesiastical trial before his presbytery. By the casting vote of the moderator he was condemned for "slanderizing his country." He appealed from the decision. Public discussion ensued in the press, which did not mend matters; and the synod, to whom appeal was taken, it has been alleged, was packed with men of one mind. Instead of suspending they deposed him, changing the accusation at the time they were about to read his sentence and admitting no protest to be entered on the record. Mr. Tamura's church instantly withdrew its connection with the synod; and, declining to acknowledge the authority of the synod, he continues to be the pastor of an independent church. There are seven cooperating missions from abroad in Japan, which constitute a "council" to the "Church of Christ in Japan," which has given this anomalous exhibit of churchly order. This "council" declared by resolution their regret at the course of the Church. Nobody has alleged that Mr. Tamura's book

is untrue in its statements, except in minor particulars. His countrymen merely denounced him for giving publicity to family secrets. Dr. W. A. P. Martin, of the Imperial University of Peking, a man of vast acquaintance with everything in eastern Asia, pronounces the book to be a "faithful and graphic picture of Japanese domestic life, by a man whose eyes are open to see its defects." He sees its beauties, however, as well, and eulogizes them in contrast with certain things in the West.

It is not Mr. Tamura that concerns us, nor his book, which has had perhaps as much notoriety as it deserves; but it is this sample of what is to be hoped for from the nascent Church of Japan—a Church which claims that it has no further need for the guidance or help of Western Christendom, but which still wants foreign missionary money to flow into its hands, to be managed by it as it sees best. This "Church" has furnished a monstrous sample of incompetency for self-control and self-development in thus degrading a man from the ministry who is charged with no untruth, nor even with overstatement, but with unpatriotic conduct in stating things which all acknowledge to exist, and stating them as they exist. The "Church of Christ in Japan" stands itself arraigned at the bar of the civilized world, of which it seems so ambitious to prove itself a part.

THE MASSACRES OF ARMENIANS.

THE Christian world has been shocked by reported barbarities of the Kurds toward the Armenians, consisting of the outrageous butchery, and worse, of women and children—outrages so gross that even Turkish soldiers could only be brought to commit them by threats of punishment if they refused; outrages against which the Turkish governor himself is said to have protested and, in consequence, was removed; outrages whose perpetrator, Zekki Pasha, has been honored by the sultan's government. Two things have increased the indignation of Christendom in the premises:

I. The political violence done to the Treaty of Berlin of 1878. The Turk, at the time of that treaty, desired to be defended against Russia, and England promised such protection. The condition required of Turkey was that she should introduce reforms in the treatment of her Armenian subjects. Turkey agreed to this, and also that the great powers of Europe should "superintend their application" (*Berlin Treaty*, article 61). Sixteen years afterward the Armenians found that it had yielded them nothing; they were still under the uncontrolled, unregulated rule of the Turk. Great Britain asked them to accept, on her guarantee, the Turk's promises of better treatment; but it is not clear that she has made her guarantee of any avail. Meanwhile, Armenians had lost the protection of their only friend, the Russian.

II. The Armenians are, nominally, at least, Christian, and have been from a very early period. Since A. D. 301 their national Church has been known as the Armenian, or the Gregorian, Church. It is not held to be orthodox in some of its leading tenets, such as its belief in the

single nature of Christ, the procession of the Spirit from the Father only, transubstantiation, purgatory, and prayer to the Virgin and the saints; but it was hoped that it might be reformed and made a great missionary power in the midst of Moslem communities. At any rate, the Armenians were accessible, and there was no legal disability in the way of their accepting a purer form of Christianity. Under missionary teaching there has been a gradual rejection of their superstitions and a marked awakening in the line of education. In spite of the oppressions they have suffered, they have been gradually increasing in wealth, amid the general extension of poverty around them in the empire at large. The thing that specially renders them obnoxious to their rulers is that they have gained possession of much of the land. They hold their own far better than other races in Asiatic Turkey, the Greek only comparing with them in business ability and general intelligence.

According to Turkish law every person must remain connected with the ecclesiastico-civil community in which he was born. When the evangelical movement began in Armenia it met with opposition from the authorities of the ancient Armenian Church, who refused the adherents of the evangelical bodies burial and excommunicated them with anathemas. They were cut off and cast off, but endured all with martyrlike submission, and were ultimately recognized as native Protestants, with a civil head, and he a layman. But the Protestant Armenian Church has suffered much from emigration of its members to Western countries, as well as from obstructions on the part of the Turkish authorities in the way of the progress of its educational institutions.

THE STATUS OF ARMENIANS IN PERSIA.

THE Armenians are so widely distributed over Asia, Europe, and America that one naturally turns at this juncture to ask of their fate in the Mohammedan land of Persia. Julfa is a suburb of Ispahan inhabited by a colony of Armenian Christians who have a very interesting history. Their ancestors were brought hither, as long ago as the time of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Shah Abbas. Dr. Bruce, who has been at Ispahan for a quarter of a century, tells of the conditions under which this community of Christians has existed. A river called the Zaindehrood, or "life-giving" river, flows between the Christian suburb and the Mohammedan city. Forty years ago, or less, no Christian was allowed to cross the bridge over this river mounted on any beast of burden. This is but a slight illustration of the application of what is known as the "thirteen rules of Omar," the object of which was to degrade every non-Moslem, making him feel that he was nothing better than a dog in the eyes of the rulers of the land. One of these laws bestowed on a pervert to Islam the property of any of his near kindred to which he might please to lay claim. Dr. Bruce illustrates the application of this law with an instance, which came under his own knowledge, of an Armenian Christian whose "great-grandmother's sister's great-granddaughter" had become a Moslem, had

taken sums of money from him under the law, and had then laid claim to the house which he had inherited from his father and on which he himself had spent large sums of money. He besought Dr. Bruce to become his tenant, because he, being a British subject, could not be disturbed on the premises. Dr. Bruce rented the property, and ultimately it became the first mission house of the Church of England mission in Persia. The same woman who annoyed the doctor's landlord took property belonging to other Armenian relatives as distantly related to her as was he. The present shah having put an end to all these customs, the Armenian Christian colony in Julfa has progressed in a marvelous manner and increased in self-respect, as well as in the esteem of Moslems, among whom some of the Armenian Christians have been most effective evangelists.

APPLICANTS FOR MISSION SERVICE IN DISPROPORTION TO MEANS.

It is certainly a matter for serious thought what is the duty of the Church in view of two things: we have prayed for open doors, and all doors are wide open; we have prayed God to raise up workers, and they stand ready in ranks far beyond the capacity of the boards to send them forward. What is to be done under such conditions? The Church of England Missionary Society, October, 1887, initiated a policy, which has ever since been acted upon, of accepting and sending forward all duly qualified missionaries, trusting God for means of supporting them and their work, rather than of limiting their new force to the money they had in sight. They did not say that such a policy was always right; but they thought it expedient for them at that time. Some friends of the society doubt the wisdom of the course, thinking it fanatical. The whole question was reopened at the general committee meeting in November last, when one of the most respected of the members moved to rescind the action of seven years before. Archbishop, prebendary, and generals among the laity, were found to oppose the proposal, and it was withdrawn, to the great satisfaction of the large company present. We give some of the figures which were laid before the committee. The total number of missionaries, not counting missionaries' wives, has increased as follows: clergymen, from 247 to 344; laymen, from 40 to 82; women, from 22 to 193—total, from 309 to 619, more than doubling in the seven years. It was at the end of 1887 that the new plans for associated evangelists were formed. It was at the same time that the large extension of woman's work began. Since 1887 medical missions have much developed, and the number of medical missionaries has more than doubled. In 1887 there were four honorary missionaries; in 1894 there were over seventy, besides eighty supported in whole or in part by special gifts. In the year ending March, 1887, the General Fund Income was £200,777. In the year ending March, 1894, it was £237,797. A token of the approval with which the committee's action, referred to above, is regarded was received in a check for £250, sent by one friend in thankfulness for their decision.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Raymond de Girard. A geologist by profession, he has so repeatedly, and for so long a time, studied the question of the flood that his utterances on that subject may not be overlooked by the theologian. He has recently published the first part of a work entitled, *Le Déluge devant la Critique Historique*, in which he discusses the historical school, leaving the mythical school, that is, the school which regards the stories of the flood as myths, for a second volume. He subdivides the historical school into three minor schools: first, the universalist; second, the mixed; third, the nonuniversalist. The universalist school holds that all nations originally had a knowledge of the flood, but that where no traces of such knowledge are now found it is to be presumed that the tradition was by some means lost, and that wherever such traditions are to be found they refer to the same fact of which Genesis treats. The only difference of opinion which exists in this school is whether the flood was geographically, or only ethnically, universal. The mixed school distinguishes between real flood traditions and pseudo flood traditions. Under the former, it distinguishes again between those that are aboriginal and those which are imported or borrowed. The Chinese and American flood traditions are regarded as pseudo-diluvian, and the Negroes are held to be without the slightest trace of a flood tradition. The nonuniversalist school only carries the principles of the mixed school to their logical results when it avers that the Chaldean is the only real and aboriginal flood tradition. The source of the account in Genesis is supposed by this school to be Chaldaic. Although the tradition is thus narrowed down to the one source, yet it is regarded as sufficiently strong to establish the fact. The only question is whether the flood was universal or local. With this survey, the historical evidence concerning the flood is brought to an end; but Girard adds a discussion of the evidence from archaeology and geology. The geological investigation leads to the result that there are no material traces of such a flood as that described in Genesis, although Girard thinks it possible that the theory which confines the flood to Mesopotamia, and attributes it to seismic disturbances, would not be contradicted by the geological evidence. Girard, by his studies, has done the cause of learning, and especially the theologian, a service here which is of great value. He has the true spirit of scholarship, which prompts him to give the representatives of all schools of opinion an opportunity to express their peculiar views and to be fair himself toward all of them.

Professor Dr. F. Kattenbusch. It is always instructive to observe how a great thinker proceeds in his labors. Kattenbusch has published works chiefly on questions relating to early or little known confessions of

faith. His latest work, begun away back in the seventies, long before the recent German controversy began, has been in the investigation of the Apostles' Creed. He follows the geographical division into occidental and oriental forms of the Creed. In studying the occidental forms, for example, he takes them up province after province, and shows that all the provincial forms are variations from the old original Roman symbol, and that, included in the occidental, are three typical provincial forms, the Italian, the African, and the west European. The inexhaustible patience of a true scholar is exhibited in the minute researches he makes into disputed questions in the hope of throwing some light upon their settlement. Nothing is so small as to be overlooked, nothing is hastily done. In studying the oriental forms of the Creed he was obliged to gather his own materials, and students of Church history will ever be under obligation to him for his labors in this respect. Here, still more completely, his method of study becomes apparent. As in the Occident a comparison of the provincial forms led to the conclusion that they all had their origin in the old Roman symbol, so here he raises the questions whether the oriental forms are original and independent, and where the beginnings of the symbol in the Orient are to be found. To the first question he gives a negative answer; in answer to the second he names Syria and Palestine. But if there is no original type in the Orient, whence did their various symbols spring? By a comparison it is discovered that the old Roman symbol is not only the mother of the occidental forms, but the oriental also. These are weighty conclusions; and we mention them, not for their own sake, but because they are inseparably connected with the method pursued by Kattenbusch in his investigations, which is the main thought to be emphasized here. Kattenbusch has already published a book of four hundred and twenty-four pages on this subject, and it is but the first volume. It will require another volume to complete the publication of his researches. Many Americans are inclined to ridicule the minuteness of German research. But it is just because Kattenbusch has gone into the *minutiae* of this question that he is an authority upon it. And those who wish to know anything well must follow his example.

Professor Dr. Clemen. As a scholar he has distinguished himself by his studies of the relation between the Old and New Testaments. He believes that the Bible, in both the Old and New Testaments, is an organic whole. The Old Testament points to the facts later recorded in the New. The Old Testament, he thinks, is not to be looked at from the standpoint of the historian merely. He would emphasize the higher, the ideal, the eternal and enduring contents of the Old Testament, which had a reference to Christ and his kingdom, while applied originally to current events. He regards this higher sense of the Old Testament, designed by the Spirit of God, as the true sense. It must not be represented as capriciously read into the Old Testament, but as necessarily connected with all its contents. When the writers of the New Testament applied language of

the Old Testament to events in the life of Christ, they did it in the prophetic consciousness that those passages were originally designed to have a prophetic significance. By holding these opinions Clemen comes very close to maintaining the double sense of the Old Testament. In fact, it is impossible to see any practical distinction between his view and that of the double sense. As some one has said of him, he admits the double-sense conception of the Old Testament by the back door. On the one hand, Clemen does not believe in verbal inspiration. The inspiration of the Old Testament writers had to do rather with what they taught than how they expressed it. If we may coin a word, he believes in a "factual," rather than in a verbal, inspiration. To him the citations of the Old Testament in the New are not mere illustrations of the fixed facts of the Christian faith; but rather they were used by the New Testament writers under the inspiration of the same Spirit which prompted their reduction to writing by the Old Testament authors, and in the same sense which the inspiring Spirit intended them to have when originally written. On the other hand, Clemen maintains more than a mere enlightenment of the writers of the New Testament, having for its effect a sharpening of their perceptions for the deepest contents of the Old Testament. The Spirit of God was with these writers, not designating the words, but inspiring them in the choice of the facts recorded and in the choice of the citations from the Old Testament. Thus it is he explains the want of verbal accuracy, together with the identity of the original and the New Testament applications.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Das Weltelend und der Weltlösung (The Redemption of the World from its Misery). By K. Hollensteiner. The book proposes to discuss the spiritualization of man. The first part, which describes the misery of the world, has for its motto, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh," while the second part, which deals with redemption, is founded upon the suggestions contained in the passage, "If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit." And the textual division, as one may say, is followed by the treatment of the life in the Spirit, distinctly from the walking in the Spirit. The book proposes to discuss from this standpoint the whole range of dogmatics and ethics. The book holds to the trichotomous division of the nature of man. It denies that sin springs from the sensuous side of man or from his weakness. Rather does it spring from the fact that the soul leans toward the body, rather than toward the spirit. The inference from this must be that if the soul had turned toward the spirit human sin would have had no existence. So that according to this, while it does not make the body essentially sinful, it is our bodies which have made sin possible in us, and which occasioned, if they did not cause, sin in the human race. Such a doctrine gives to the body more influence over the soul than the spirit has over the soul. This would be a remarkable phenomenon, and could not be explained except on the sup-

position of an inherent and powerful tendency of the body toward moral evil. This view of the case practically leads to the assertion of the evil of matter. The only true view is that sin is primarily of the spirit of man. The body cannot sin without the consent of the spirit, and originally had no more predisposition to sin than did the spirit. So far as sin originated in man, his body had no participation in it. Though he be fallen, the body is not responsibly active in prompting to, or executing, the purpose of sin. Sin can only be committed by a conscious agent. Interesting is the discussion of regeneration, which is represented as consisting of enlightenment, justification (including pardon), and sanctification. It is well to include thus both the preparatory stages and the subsequent results in the work of regeneration. The spiritualization of man as the redemption of the world from its misery is the thought of the book, and is worthy of its author and of careful consideration by all its readers.

Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum
(The Influence of the Ancient Mysterics upon Christianity). By G. Anrich. There being no work which sets forth the character, development, and religious significance of the mysteries, together with a presentation of their position and influence upon the mental and moral development of the Christian centuries, this book proposes briefly, and in a preliminary way, to supply the lack. This is, indeed, one of the most valuable features of the work, and constitutes the first part. The second part follows the investigation of the main problem from the first, to the beginning of the fifth, century A. D. The titles of the eight chapters are as follows: "Gnosticism in its Relation to the Mysteries;" "Preparations and Beginnings of the Mysteries in Relation to Worship;" "Christianity as Mystery—the Alexandrian Gnosis;" "The Terminology of the Mysteries and the Secret Discipline;" "The Contrast between the Initiated and the Uninitiated—Catechetical and Baptismal Instruction;" "The Specific Effects of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, with the Manner of their Production;" "Baptism and Eucharist, according to their Ritualistic Development;" "Ancient Purism in Christianity." These eight chapters, as will be seen at a glance, cover the field thoroughly. The principal conclusion reached is that no direct influence of the mysteries upon Christianity, that is, no conscious adoption of the forms and institutions of the mysteries on the part of Christianity, found place, nor even an accommodation of those forms and institutions to the needs of Christianity. But, on the other hand, the Church was more and more influenced, though unconsciously, by the mystery element which prevailed in the intellectual atmosphere. Furthermore, the book shows that, while in gnosticism the mysteries early exercised a profound influence, it was only from the beginning of the fourth century that the mysteries completely ruled the ecclesiastical consciousness. The entire process is represented as religious—psychological. The religious feelings, impressions, and desires of the Church were more and more governed by the departing antique, until, in the necessities of the case and unconsciously, the process began by which religious conceptions, forms, and institutions

parallel to the mysteries arose. The book does not pretend that primitive Christianity was influenced by the mysteries. It is a good specimen of the kind of studies demanded by the times, and of which many scores could be conducted without exhausting the range of topics which, in early Church history alone, deserve to be treated.

Der Viercapitalbrief im zweiten Korinthesbrief des Apostels Paulus
(The Four-chapter Letter within Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians).
By Anton Halmel. The unity of Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians has been long and hotly disputed. Halmel would allow the correctness of the separation of chaps. x-xiii from the former part. But he also denies the unity of the first part of the epistle, making a four-chapter letter to begin at chap. ii, 14, and end with chap. vi, 10. The supposition is that between verse 13 of chap. ii and verse 14 of the same chapter there is a break; that a similar break in the sense is found between verse 9 of chap. vi and verse 10 of the same chapter; that the part that he regards as an interpolation was written by Paul, but on another occasion, and inserted here by an editor after Paul's death; that this part makes complete sense when separated from the original letter; and that if this part were removed the remainder would read more continuously than it does when this part is read between. Thus there are three letters in one, in the following order: (1) Chap. i, 1-ii, 13; vi, 11-13-vii, 2-16. (2) Chaps. x-xiii. (3) Chap. ii, 14-vi, 10. They are all from Paul, and by mistake have been combined into one, and that in a most confusing way. If the book represented chap. vii, 5, as the direct continuation of chap. ii, 13, it would seem more plausible. For chap. vi, 11, is no more appropriate as a continuation of chap. ii, 13, than is verse 14, of chap. ii. But chap. vii, 5, is. Besides, the break is just as apparent between chap. vii, 4 and verse 5 of the same chapter as it is in the supposed place in chap. ii or in chap. vi. That these chasms do appear, at least upon the surface, we admit. But it by no means follows that there is any interpolation or combination of Pauline letters. It is not easy to account for the breaks in the connection with certainty. But one simple fact of frequent experience may furnish the solution. A letter is not always written at one sitting, especially if it is long. When we are interrupted in writing we go back to the letter in an entirely different frame of mind, and anxious, while it is in our mind, to give expression to a thought not before us at the former sitting. Paul's letters, being, in fact, epistolary treatises having practical ends in view, could very easily admit somewhat illogical order and a somewhat unsystematic development, such as we have supposed.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

The Seventh Day Adventists in Switzerland. Several times this class of religionists has come under the ban of the law in Switzerland. They

have a book-printing establishment in Basel, which is under the operation of a State law forbidding Sunday labor. Yet time after time they have violated this law and have been fined for the offense. They defend themselves on the plea that they must obey God rather than man. But the last time they were before the court the judge imposed upon the manager of the concern a fine of \$40 and sixty days in prison. While liberty of conscience must always be respected, yet questions of Sunday rest cannot be left by the State to individual opinion. In observing the seventh day, while working upon the first, these people violate the principles of charity which are the most essential features of Christianity; for in so doing they wound the feelings of the vast majority, whose integrity, intelligence, and soundness of judgment are equal to their own.

German Society for Ethical Culture. The fourth general assembly was held in Berlin recently, with twenty-two members present. The proposition to establish an academy for ethical culture was discussed at length, and finally the plan of Professor Tönnies, of Hamburg, was adopted, whereby several courses of reading and study are to be mapped out, which shall be suitable for both men and women, and shall cover questions of ethics and social science, for the purpose of testing the effects. The experiment will be watched with interest. A proposition to issue an official paper, containing nothing but news and governed by a due regard to decency, was rejected as impractical. An attempt was made to have the society adopt a resolution recommending the eight-hour law as an ethical necessity, but it also failed. However, on account of the importance of the abbreviation of the hours of labor as it is related to ethical progress, it was determined to institute special investigations upon which report is hereafter to be made. It was, also, decided to raise funds for the support of what, in the Christian Church, would be called itinerant preachers—men whose constant business it is to travel from place to place preaching the gospel of ethics to the people.

Church Doings in Germany. At the recent session of the General Synod in Berlin that body was received by the emperor, who addressed the members concerning their duties and rights. The proposed revision of the ritual, the emperor said, was the most important question to be submitted for their consideration. Some had feared that its use would be compulsory. But this would not be the case. He expressed the wish that the churches might be opened constantly, and advised the Synod to proceed with their work in a spirit of conciliation. One of the problems which the Synod found it most important to consider was how to prevent the rapid increase of mixed marriages between Jews and Christians. The Synod took action requesting the government to be more careful in the administration of oaths, and asking that the confessional form of oath be reinstated, and that Christians be excused from taking oaths, except before Christian judges.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE diagnosis of the doctors as to the financial prostration of the nation is given in the *North American Review* for February. Under the title of "The Financial Muddle," the Hon. J. Sterling Morton, Secretary of Agriculture, declares himself as believing in a gold unit as a measure of value, "because that metal has been tested and approved for five hundred years by the domestic and foreign trade of all the commercial nations of Europe." The Hon. William M. Springer, Chairman of the Congressional Committee on Banking and Currency, on the other hand, argues for the issue of national bank notes as proposed in the Carlisle bill. A third opinion is that of Henry W. Cannon, President of the Chase National Bank, New York city, who affirms that "the embarrassment of our financial situation is occasioned by the necessity of maintaining the paper money issued by the government upon a gold basis, and this embarrassment is intensified by the fact that more than one half of the currency issued by the government is based upon silver." For, "whatever may be the opinion of the citizens of the United States in the matter, gold is to-day the sole money of full debt-paying power among the principal civilized nations." Though these utterances disagree, it is well to have confidence in the skill of the physicians and the largest faith in the recuperative power of the sufferer. "The New Pulpit," by the Rev. H. R. Haweis, is another striking article. Though radical, it is readable. The old pulpit, says the distinguished writer, "is stricken with dogmatic ague; it is palsied with fear; it would persecute if it could, but it can't, for it has ceased to inspire convictions worth persecuting." As for the new pulpit, however, it "should stand for the freedom of Christ's utterance, the reach of his sympathy, and that discernment of the signs of the times without which no ministry can be prophetical and no pulpit alive. The age waits." In a charming strain of reminiscence Andrew Lang writes his "Recollections of Robert Louis Stevenson." Senator Platt, of Connecticut, follows with a discussion of "Problems in the Indian Territory," calling attention to the existence there of four Indian republics, within the boundaries of our greater republic, which are virtually "white oligarchies." The situation to be remedied is summed up in the statement that "the white men who, going through the farce of Indian marriage, have become Indian citizens, and the half-breeds have already despoiled the real Indian of his land." H. H. Boyesen next writes on "The Matrimonial Puzzle;" Professor Simon Newcomb shows "Why We Need a National University;" and Charles Sedgwick Minot, in "The Psychical Comedy," punctures the claims of esoteric Buddhism and telepathy.

A SIMILAR thrust at modern scientific attempts, particularly in England, to discover the supernatural, is given in "Modern Magic," in the January number of the *Edinburgh Review*. The article is particularly a notice of

the "Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research," issued in London in 1894. Table V of that report is quoted, classifying in some detail 1,112 apparitions seen, and particular instances of apparition after the usual order are given in their usually thrilling verbiage. The thorough skepticism of the reviewer is seen in his closing utterance: "Many strange stories are recorded in the bulky 'Proceedings' of the last thirteen years; yet perhaps some of those who have read them may think that, after all, there is nothing there half so difficult to understand as the existence amongst us to-day of the Society for Psychical Research." The seventh article of the number is entitled "Erasmus, by the late Professor Froude." This work by Froude, whose loss the world of letters now deplores, is termed by the reviewer an "interesting and brilliant monograph; whose 'moral,'" "animating spirit and teaching, as set forth by the most remarkable thinker of the sixteenth, are now attested and indorsed by one of the most noteworthy teachers in our England of the nineteenth, century." In the eighth article is found a study of "Early Christian Monuments," which is both careful and entertaining. "The history of the wondrous growth of Christianity is not to be founded on mediæval tradition, but on extant writings of the centuries preceding the Council of Nicæa, on the grudging witness of non-Christian writers, and on the scattered monuments, which bear witness to the persecutions of poor and humble converts, to the rites and vestments of pagan religions, and to the original simplicity of Christian practice and belief."

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for January has: 1. "Idealistic Monism," by R. L. Dabney, D.D.; 2. "The Latest Phase of Historical Rationalism," by Dr. B. B. Warfield; 3. "The Inspired Anticipation of the Valid Conclusions of Modern Science," by S. S. Laws, D.D.; 4. "The Doctrine of Judgment in the Fourth Gospel," by J. Ritchie Smith; 5. "The Gospel and the Revelation of Peter," by R. B. Woodworth; 6. "Earlier Licensure," by P. H. Hoge, D.D.; 7. "Licensure and Ordination—The Proposed Changes," by Eugene Daniel, D.D. The first three articles are scientific, philosophical, profound. In reply to the claim that "the eschatology of the fourth gospel is irreconcilably at variance with that of the other gospels and of Paul," the writer of the next article proves that John's "teaching upon this theme, as upon every other, blends in harmony with the teaching of all Scripture." The sixth and seventh articles treat of the proposed changes in the licensing of candidates for the Presbyterian ministry, and take opposite sides in the discussion.

THE *Methodist Review* of the Church, South, has as its January contents: 1. "A King of the Brambles," by Maurice Thompson; 2. "The Work of the Commission," by R. H. Mahon, D.D.; 3. "The Report of the Committee of Seven," by Paul Whitehead, D.D.; 4. "The Higher Criticism," by W. F. Tillett, D.D.; 5. "The Study of History and Political Science for Southern Youths," by J. S. Bassett, Ph.D.; 6. "Oliver Wendell

Holmes," by W. M. Baskerville, Ph.D.; 7. "Old Japan," by J. C. Calhoun Newton, D.D.; 8. "Christian Liberty and Church Organization," by E. L. T. Blake, D.D.; 9. "Thomas Osmond Summers, D.D., LL.D," by the editor. The first article exalts the catbird to kingship in charming phrase. The fifth paper concludes that "of all the men of the nation the Southern statesman is best situated to advocate wise measures without regard to votes. He can be a patriot with least sacrifice. It is a grand opportunity to regain our old position in national affairs. May we have the trained men to take it when it is offered!" The last article reviews the life of one of the most distinguished men of Southern Methodism.

THE *Review of Reviews* for February has, as "Special Features," articles on the International Exposition at Atlanta, civil government in Manitoba, Anton Rubinstein, and Robert Louis Stevenson. A sketch of Stevenson's life and work is given by C. D. Lanier, and a forecast as to his successors by Jeanette L. Gilder. In the latter the writer quotes Stevenson's acknowledgment of Crockett's dedication to himself of "The Stickit Minister"—an acknowledgment which, in view of Stevenson's death so far from his dear Scotland, breathes a most tender sadness:

Be it granted to me to behold you again in dying,
Hills of home! and to hear again the call—
Hear about the graves of the martyrs the pewees crying,
And hear no more at all.

THE *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, among its attractive articles, has a paper on "Close Communion," by an unknown writer who signs himself "A Baptist Divine." His opening statement runs: "The proposition I undertake to establish is that close communion, as represented by its ablest apologists, is a jumble of false assumptions and bad logic; and that self-consistency, reason, and Scripture require Baptists either to abandon the practice in favor of open communion or else to withdraw Christian fellowship from pedobaptists—which I would not presume to suggest." Along this line of argument the writer has constructed a challenge of close communion which is logical, and wholesome. Its spirit and conclusions show that the religious world is marching fast along.

No ultra churchman will enjoy the estimate of "Puseyism and the Church of England" which is found in the *London Quarterly Review* for January. Its closing judgment is severe in its finding: "Ecclesiastical arrogance and intolerance—the intolerance of a curiously ignorant bigotry—coupled with irrational and degrading superstitions, weigh, like a sentence of doom, on Anglicanism in modern England." In "Manxland and 'the Manxman'" a most appreciative estimate is given of Methodism, to the effect that for more than a century it "has been the main factor in the religion of the isle. We might easily fill whole pages with tales of insular Methodist worthies. One of the most remarkable was John Cowle, parish clerk at St. George's and local preacher all over the island. . . . Manx

Methodism, and indeed Manx Christianity, cannot let the name of Nellie Brennan die. A woman in very humble life, she became the devoted nurse and teacher of those as poor as herself. Her heroism and utter self-sacrifice during the cholera visitation of 1832 are still remembered with admiration and affection."

In the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for January is found a weighty table of contents, as follows: 1. "Origin and Composition of Genesis," by E. C. Bissell; 2. "Apostolical Sanction the Test of Canonicity," by W. M. McPheeters; 3. "The Testimony of the Holy Spirit to the Bible," by John De Witt; 4. "The Mind of a Child," by D. W. Fisher; 5. "The Relation of Science and Faith," by George Macloskie.—*The Quarterly Review of the United Brethren* for January opens with a paper asking, "Shall We Regulate the Liquor Traffic by License or Taxation?" Its author is Dr. C. L. Work, its spirit is one of uncompromising hostility to the traffic, and its argument is that counterfeiting, burglary, and horse stealing might be legalized in a similar way. Another practical article in the same number, by Rev. W. F. McCauley, is on "Sabbath Observance."

—The fourth paper in the *American Catholic Quarterly* for January notices "The Catholic Educational Exhibit at the Columbian Exhibition." It is written by General John Eaton and is self-congratulatory.—*The Lutheran Quarterly* for January opens with an article by Dr. D. H. Bauslin on "The Missionary Spirit in the Home Churches." Other papers are on "The Spiritual Talents of a Child," by Rev. T. F. Dornblaser; "The Inertness of Society," by Professor M. H. Richards, D.D.; "The Man of Sin," by Dr. G. U. Wenner; and "Whence is Sin?" by Rev. W. E. Fischer. It is a valuable number of this quarterly.—*The Missionary Review* for February opens with an article by Dr. Pierson on "The Pentecost at Hilo," describing the great revival in the Hawaiian Islands a half century since. All the departments of this issue are rich in missionary suggestions.—*The Chautauquan* for February has, under "Required Reading," papers on "The Life of a British Soldier," by Lance Corporal Seyle; "What We Know about the Planets," by G. P. Serviss; "The Beginning and the Ending," by Bishop Vincent; "The World's Debt to Electricity," by Professor John Trowbridge; and "Count Moltke, Field Marshal—Second Article," by Sidney Whitman. In "Journalism in the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches," by Dr. A. P. Foster, the portraits of the chief editors of these great denominations enrich the descriptive article.

—*The Church at Home and Abroad* for February is attractive in contents and illustrations. It contains among its articles a most entertaining sketch of Rev. Daniel Baker, D.D., whose pulpit power and sacrifice in home missionary work are among the precious memories of the Presbyterian Church.—*Our Day* for February has besides all else a character study of Walter Besant, with his photogravure.—*The Gospel in All Lands* for February is largely devoted to Chinese life and the progress of missions in China. The monthly is a tribute to the careful editorship of Dr. Smith.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology. On the Basis of Hagenbach. By GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D., and JOHN F. HURST, D.D. New and Revised Edition. 8vo, pp. 627. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, \$3.50.

A standard work by two foremost Methodist scholars, completely revised and brought up to date by the eminently capable hand of Dr. Crooks. It might be called the minister's guide to book-buying. In the revision much new matter has been added, and, to make room for additional English and American theological literature, titles of untranslated German works have been displaced. The book has been made more orderly, extensive, and homogeneous. The whole field of theological study is divided into its departments, exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical, and the proper contents of each department are described and surveyed by themselves and in their mutual relations. A full catalogue of available literature relating to each department is given. In addition to strictly theological discussion, many related topics are treated; the relations of philosophy, philology, ethics, psychology, logic, art, and natural science to theology are included. The history, results, and present condition of rationalism, biblical criticism, and biblical archæology are presented clearly, concisely, frankly, and the literature *pro* and *con*, destructive as well as defensive, containing the debates and the materials of scholarship on these disputed subjects, is pointed out in the lists of works following each section. It is so obvious as hardly to need statement that this encyclopædia and methodology is simply indispensable to every studious minister. It is the only work in English that undertakes the task which it so completely fulfills. A thousand questions that are often asked by young men of their seniors are answered in this book; and the preacher or student of theology and its cognate topics, who wishes to know what books to buy in order that he may be saved from wasting his money and gathering a library that will not meet his wants, will find this volume to be an invaluable guide to what he needs. It is only natural that in a cyclopædia coming from Crooks and Hurst there should be especially the most complete bibliography of the "English and American Literature of Church History." The value of the work is increased by the list of books on "Religion and Science," and the "Histories of the Christian Church in the United States," contained in the Appendix. The full and fresh intelligence, clear and comprehensive view, judicious poise, evangelical and scholarly wisdom which characterize the book, are not absent from its dealing with the subject of biblical criticism, as to which much misunderstanding and confusion exist. Referring our readers to the book itself for the full presentation and treatment of this subject, we may make some quotations which will correctly intimate the spirit and atti-

tude of our authors. The reverence we owe to the Bible invites to conscientious investigation of the Scriptures. Biblical criticism, rightly understood, is simply an examination of the text as it exists, either in its parts or as a whole, for the purpose of settling its authenticity and integrity and to restore the true reading where it has been lost or crowded out. "The thought that God has always watched over the Bible is, in this general form, the presumption of a pious consciousness, which may be sustained at the bar of science, and even finds its justification at the hands of science. But to decide beforehand how God should have watched, what things he must have guarded against, to prevent the Bible from becoming a book like other books, is an arrogant assumption equal to that of rationalistic criticism in the other direction. It is an historical fact to which we are, in all humility, to assent, that God has chosen to permit the Bible to pass through the same human processes by which other written monuments have been, and are being, tested. This will be apparent to every person who has looked with an unprejudiced eye into the history and fortunes of the canon." Herder is quoted: "Banish the last remains of the leaven of the opinion that this book is unlike other books in its outward form and matter, so that, for instance, no various readings can occur in it, because it is a divine book. Various readings do occur (and yet but one can be the correct reading); this is fact, not opinion . . . Whether a person who makes a copy of the Bible thereby becomes at once a faultless God? . . . No parchment acquires a firmer nature because it bears the Bible, and no ink becomes thereby indelible." While "criticism has been often employed for perverse and frivolous ends," and the Bible has been greatly abused, yet it will not do to "oppose uncritical to hypercritical arbitrariness. Only a strictly scientific procedure, unbiased by dogmatic preconceptions of any kind, will meet the demands of the case." Bunsen is quoted: "I am convinced that in order to renew the Christian faith we need not less, but more, investigation." J. P. Lange is quoted: "On its bright side, criticism is the self-rejuvenating element of the Church as a whole, the boast of the evangelical Church and theology; on the darker side, criticism has, by its deformity, filled one of the most pungent pages in the history of the Protestant Church." Rothe is quoted: "There assuredly exists a criticism that springs from the full confidence of faith, as well as one that takes its rise in doubt; and the former is inborn with Christian piety, at least with that of the evangelical type. God has not made, and did not intend to make, the task a trifling one for us. He gives nothing whatever to man in its finished state; all his gifts are imparted in such a way as to abundantly tax human energy—this for the reason that we are human. This applies also to the Scriptures; and if we consent to undertake the labor imposed on us by God and subject the Bible to historical criticism, it does not follow that we thereby exalt ourselves above and constrain it, but rather that we are sincerely endeavoring to learn its true meaning." The book points out that not a single Bible truth is deprived of support when the account of the adulterous woman (John viii) is assigned to a different

gospel, or a doxology (Rom. xvi) assigned to a different place, or even when "the genuineness of Second Peter is by some surrendered." Referring to the laborious study sometimes bestowed on the transposition of a word or the place and force of a particle, the authors say: "Precisely this devotion to the letter of the Scriptures (which was cultivated 'for the glory of Jesus Christ' by the pious Bengel) constitutes, with all its apparent dryness, the finest flower of scientific earnestness and the most effectual restraint upon recklessness; while, on the contrary, uncritical ignorance, which, for instance, would, in order to possess an additional proof-text, retain passages like 1 John v, 7, though known to be not genuine, is rendering but poor service to the interests of piety. The glory of science is this, that it presses onward in the course marked out by an incorruptible love of truth, without yielding to the power of outside influences." No other position than this would be taken by accredited scholars like Dr. Crooks and Bishop Hurst. The authors ask whether the religious worth of certain psalms would be destroyed if it were proven that they "were not composed by the royal singer himself, but merely *ad modum Davidis*," and answer: "We should no more exclude them from the canon than we should exclude from the hymn book a beautiful poem, by an unknown author of the seventeenth century, concerning which we learn that it has been erroneously attributed to Paul Gerhard. Is the description of God's servant in Isa. liii less applicable to Christ on the supposition that Isa. xl-lx was written by another (later) than Isaiah, a deutero-Esaias? Who, moreover, would find the Book of Job to be less impressive because its author is unknown?" Umbreit is quoted: "The auroral light of grace and salvation breaks forth from the joyously animated discourses which are appended to the Book of Isaiah in a well-ordered succession. We hear the voice of one of the greatest prophets at the close of the Babylonish exile. Even though his name is not Isaiah, his high importance is apparent from every word proclaimed by him. . . . Well may we term him (this anonymous) the evangelist of the old covenant, for no one of the prophets has declared, like him, the glad tidings of the day-star from on high." Upon such questions even Pope Gregory I, who died March 12, 604, held a freer mind and "was able to form a more independent judgment than many Protestants living ten [or twelve] centuries later. It follows that the canonicity of a book may be maintained, even when its authorship is left in doubt, provided the book itself contains nothing that conflicts with the normal character of the theocracy in the Old, or of the Gospel in the New, Testament. But should criticism extend its investigations to the question of canonicity also? If so, to what extent? That it did so in the ancient Church is a matter of fact, and it is to the exercise of such criticism that we owe the rejection of apocryphal writings. Whether the exclusion of such writings was absolute, or whether the boundary line between canonical and apocryphal is still in dispute, is a different question. The recognition of a distinct class of *ἀντιλεγόμενα* and the distinction between proto- and deutero-canonical writings are of themselves evidence that such criticism was exercised. The Reformation

asserted in its own behalf this right of the ancient Church; and more recent times have likewise recognized it as a right and so employed it. We readily admit that the common feeling of the Church is not likely to consent that the slightest alteration in the canon be attempted, and cannot even desire it for ourselves; . . . but the right of judgment must be considered, and science must steadily respect it." We would add that the Church, as well, must steadily respect this right of judgment. If anybody demurs at this he should make haste to place himself under the *egis* of the Roman pontificate. There is no other safe and quiet refuge for him. Our authors refer to Luther's criticisms of the Epistle of James and of the Apocalypse, and quote other similar views, not in approval of the opinions themselves, but in proof that independent views respecting even the elements of the canon may consist with a decided and orthodox faith in the divine nature of Christianity. The book says that "a very correct and much more intelligent view than that entertained by many pious people of to-day was advanced by Richard Baxter (died 1691)," and then quotes his statement that if some book, like the Epistle of Jude, for example, should be lost or put in doubt, it would not follow that all true faith and hope of salvation would be lost, and more to similar effect. Of positive and negative criticism the authors say: "The negative criticism endeavors simply to ascertain and cast out what is spurious as a whole or in part; while the positive criticism seeks, with reference to authenticity, to discover the real authors of anonymous and pseudonymous works, and, with reference to integrity, to restore the text to its original condition. The former, when sufficient external evidence is wanting, is done by hypothesis; the latter, by conjecture. It is generally more easy to determine with certainty that a work was not written by the author to whom tradition has attributed it than to discover who the real author was; and it is likewise more easy to arrive at the conclusion that a passage has been corrupted or mutilated than at a definite result in settling the true reading. Positive criticism receives occasional aid from external helps, however, even though they be not wholly adequate. Thus, for example, the testimony of Tertullian (*De Pudic.*, c. 20) led many to adopt the theory that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by Barnabas. Sometimes, however, hypothesis puts forth claims based solely upon possibilities, as in the case of Eichhorn's assumption of a primitive gospel, and in many other instances of recent times. . . . Similar considerations apply to conjectures relating to the readings. A former age was entirely too prone to apply conjecture, at first, in the department of profane, and, subsequently, also, in that of sacred, literature; but they are likewise wrong who unconditionally reject conjecture, for it is known that conjectures have occasionally been confirmed by readings that were afterward discovered." By way of balanced caution the words of Herder are quoted: "Conjecture, in the critical sense, resembles the scalpel of the surgeon. It may, unfortunately, become necessary and beneficial, but only terribly necessary, terribly advantageous; and the wretch who plays and whittles with it, cutting away at pleasure, now an ear, now an eye, now a nose, that does not suit his

fancy, but mutilates himself." Similarly Lücke: "Divinatorial criticism involves a dangerous element and is, least of all, the concern of everybody; but it is needed for complementing the theological science of the canon." On page 214 is this veracious and important remark: "Nothing has done more to damage criticism in the estimation of pious people than the ill-timed and superficial dabbling with it of persons who, before having properly read a single book in the Bible or having been tested in the work of exposition, undertake to deal exclusively with the surface results of criticism"—a remark which looks in several directions. Crook's and Hurst's *Encyclopaedia and Methodology*, wherever it goes, brings honor to its authors and to the Methodist Book Concern. Its scholarship knows the weapons that are in the Christian arsenal for warfare, defensive and offensive, against the enemies of the faith and abides in quietness and assurance forever. To such questions as "Is the New Testament safe?" "Is the Bible secure?" such scholarship would probably answer, "We know of no time since the canon was completed when the holy book has been in serious danger. Assailants it has always had and doubtless always will have, and their devices are numerous; but the Scriptures, by their own nature and contents, by divine guardianship, by the fruits they produce, and by the valor, wisdom, and high capacity of the friends they make, stand secure." The idealists have impeached the existence of an external universe, but it remains, nevertheless, in spite of its assailants, a somewhat substantial and widely accepted reality, and seems not likely to be dissolved by anybody's impeachment so long as the human race has any need of it. In this respect, as in some others, the Bible and the universe are on the same footing. "Let not your heart be troubled."

Prolegomena to the Eighth Larger Edition of the Greek New Testament of Constantin Tischendorf. Prepared by CASPAR RENI GREGORY, Professor in the University of Leipzig. Part III, pp. xii, 801-1,428. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs. New York: B. Westermann & Co. Price, in paper, \$4.50, or the three parts complete, \$10.60; half-bound, \$11.50.

Constantin von Tischendorf stands easily at the head of the brilliant list of New Testament critics of the century. Dr. Philip Schaff calls him "the Columbus of the textual department in the New Testament literature." For thirty-five years, from 1839 to 1874, he labored incessantly in his chosen field, and so fruitful were the results that the mere catalogue of his publications, most of them of a highly critical character, covers nearly fifteen pages in the first volume of Gregory's *Prolegomena*. At the time of Tischendorf's death our own Ezra Abbott, than whom America has produced no superior in New Testament scholarship, was called to edit the *Prolegomena* to the great German's *Editio Octava Critica Major*. At the instance of Dr. Abbott, one of his pupils, then residing in Leipzig and working in the university, Caspar Reni Gregory, was charged with the chief burden of the work, and for twenty years has given himself faithfully to the task. In the first part, issued at Leipzig in 1884, he had the assistance of Abbott. It contained an account of the life and works of Tischendorf, the principles of editing the text, grammatical forms, order

of books, history of the text, and a description of the uncial manuscripts thus far found, together with full and trustworthy references to the bibliography. The second part, which appeared in 1890 and carried the work through eight hundred octavo pages, treats almost entirely of the cursive manuscripts. In its preparation Dr. Gregory exhaustively examined the libraries of Europe and the East. We now have the last, or third, part of this monumental work, dealing with the ancient versions and, also, containing the *Addenda et Emendanda* and *Indices*. In this volume of more than six hundred pages Dr. Gregory has accomplished a work unique for its comprehensiveness in the New Testament world. One has but to compare it with any of the great standards to recognize how complete, from a scientific standpoint, this, the most important portion of the work, has been made. It is most gratifying to note that acknowledgment is here made for the first time, in any adequate measure, of the treasures already accumulated in the libraries of America which belong to this department of biblical research. And, among these, the description of the five chief New Testament manuscripts at Drew Theological Seminary holds a prominent place. Thus, Dr. Gregory has gleaned from all fields and amassed a wealth of material such as the careful scholar for many years to come will draw from to his profit. The entire work of 1,428 pages forms, beyond doubt, the most complete critical apparatus for the study of the New Testament thus far published.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Five Books of Song. By RICHARD WATSON GILDER. 12mo, pp. 240. New York: The Century Co. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

The poems which have appeared at intervals during twenty years, in five small volumes, entitled *The New Day*, *The Celestial Passion*, *Lyrics*, *Two Worlds*, and *The Great Remembrance*, are here, with others, bound into one, in which we have before us the range and product of a true poet's muse; for this is, as Professor Winchester wrote years ago, "genuine poetry." Maurice Thompson's opinion is that if Gilder's poetry were two hundred years old everybody would be talking about it. It is not unappreciated and unpraised by his contemporaries, and it is quite possible, some would say certain, that if a vote were taken in cultivated circles he would be named the leading living poet of our land to-day. His work, if fairly analyzed and tabulated, aggregates many merits. His muse is not monotonous, but sings to different keys on varying themes. To say that his poetry is uneven in quality is only to say what is true of every poet that ever wrote. He inclines to brevity, as one who, living a crowded life in a crowded center, has not time for long lucubrations. He excels in brief, gem-like poems in which a single thought lies in pure light—a clean-cut statement in a finished form. Quatrains and sonnets and lyrics abound, some of them as perfect as if Herrick, the master, had molded them. The longest poems are those written for occasions, like the "Ode" at the public meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard University in

1890, and "The Great Remembrance," read at the annual reunion of the Society of the Army of the Potomac in Faneuil Hall, Boston, in 1893. Gilder may be called the bard of the metropolis. New York is the town that he loves best. His joy and his pride are in it. Thus he sings of "The City:"

Oh, dear is the song of the pine
When the wind of the nightime blows,
And dear is the murmuring river
That afar through my childhood flows;
And soft is the raindrop's beat
And the fountain's lyric play;
But to me no music is half so sweet
As the thunder of Broadway.

Stream of the living world
Where dash the billows of strife!—
One plunge in the mighty torrent
Is a year of tamer life!
City of glorious days,
Of hope and labor and mirth,
With room, and to spare, on thy splendid bays
For the ships of all the earth!

But Gilder is something more than the city's bard; he is an active force in its large, strenuous life. This singer wears the heavy yoke of service. He might be said to have taken George William Curtis's place as a patriotic citizen, and especially as a leader in fostering all forms of art, were it not more correct to say that he has made a place which is unique and all his own, filling it with, not inferior taste nor smaller influence, but with even more definite results. Nor is he a mere art-promoter. Even his poetry is something more than art. Born with the artist temperament, marked by the refinement which belongs to its native delicacy, he is no effeminate *dilettante*; his poetry is not asthetic fooling, but a part of life's downright and superior business. The lines throb with arterial blood, fresh from the heart, and manifest an earnest man who feels the marvel and the mystery, the pathos and profundity, the responsibility and glory of our human life. On all his work is that spiritual touch which saves from sensuousness and imparts dignity and elevation. Ever present is a deep sense of the sanctity which clothes both nature and man—the sense which is the basis of reverence and seriousness. Ever present, also, are those high ethical ideals without which no noble literature exists. His musings upon scenes of nature are mostly as grave as Bryant's "Water-Fowl." An exception is "A Mid-summer Song," with mother standing at the end of each verse, calling from the farmhouse kitchen door, "Polly! Polly! The cows are in the corn!" as also that rhymed letter to John Burroughs, his "friend old and true," entitled "The Building of the Chimney." The story of "John Carman" is a warning to theologians against teaching that God is responsible for all the sorrow of the earth, and a good poem for quotation in

Charles Cuthbert Hall's book, *Does God Send Trouble?* A suggestion of Browning's style is in "The Prisoner's Thought," which ends with the convict's clinging to the notion that it may somehow be possible for the soul to get away from its old self, to wash the earth all off, so that even a criminal may be new-born and find himself a regenerate creature,

With all a woman's love for all things pure,
And all a grown man's strength to do the right.

Mr. Gilder's life permits him little seclusion. The wonder is that he continues singing in so high and fine a fashion while editing a great magazine, mingling constantly in social, literary, and artistic circles, nowhere a mere onlooker, active in many worthy enterprises, a public-spirited citizen, a working factor for the city's betterment, anxious about the slums, chairman of a commission appointed by the governor of the State to investigate the condition of tenement houses, spending his Christmas Eve, in company with a detective, making a midnight tour of inspection among the Bowery and East-side lodging houses. He has furnished New York with the spectacle of a poet mounted, perhaps, on a dray in some narrow street in the slums, the delicate features of his pensive face lit with the glow of spiritual earnestness, speaking to the rough and wondering crowd in brotherly spirit and manner, trying to give them some glimpses of saving ideals which might refine the coarseness, regulate the disorder, and lift the lowness of their lives. Evidently, the ancestral preaching strain is not absent from Gilder's blood. It is a strain which has helped to make many lives pure and powerful, noble and unselfish, even to the third and fourth generation. In great part, it is the secret of his lofty ideals, aggressive moral enthusiasm, reverent faith, and the binding obligation which holds him a laborious captive to his sense of human brotherhood. His latest verse, in the *Century Magazine* for December, 1894, sounds as if he had overheard us wondering how poems can keep coming to such a busy man; and, repeating our question, "How to the singer comes the song?" he answers, in substance, "As flowers to summer fields, as dawn to dark, as stars to night, as love and light leap at the loved one's sound and sight." A well-preserved simplicity of heart, a spirit unharmed, unstained, unworn by life's contacts and attrition, in the world, but not of it—such are the sources of this poetry. On bustling pavements densely alive with the human dash and drive he is aware of heaven. Threading the narrow street at nightfall he catches sight of the sky above roofs and chimneys and sings, "The Star in the City." Turning the leaves of Longfellow's "Book of Sonnets," as he walks along Broadway in the noon noise and tumult, he holds a peaceful Sabbath in his mind, where church bells peal and chime. Musing at evening in Washington Square, and looking north on the white marble memorial arch which is the city's finest monument and which he was a chief agent in building, he does not fail to note on the south the holy hint given by the cross of light shining from the tower of Edward Judson's church. Tempted almost beyond resistance to quote many exquisite things, we

limit quotation to this true artist's earnest word of warrant for a man's speaking out what is in him:

This is my creed,
This be my deed:
" Hide not thy heart!"
Soon we depart;
Mortals are all;
A breath, then the pall;
A flash on the dark—
All's done—stiff and stark.
No time for a lie;
The truth, and then die.
Hide not thy heart!

Forth with thy thought!
Soon 'twill be naught,
And thou in thy tomb.
Now is air, now is room.
Down with false shame;
Reck not of fame;
Dread not man's spite;
Quench not thy light.
This be thy creed,
This be thy deed:
" Hide not thy heart!"

We put these lines here, passing by others more beautiful, in the practical hope that some true man, reading them, may be made the braver and swifter to utter his God-given soul, to put forth into word and deed what is in him—not rashly, but wisely, without hesitation, procrastination, or timidity, and with all his might.

Towards Utopia. Being Speculations in Social Evolution. By a Free Lance. 12mo, pp. 252. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.

The author has a sound theory that the road to Utopia requires careful study, and that we must discipline and educate our troops before we can enter that happy country as conquerors. He is, also, sound in his notion that Utopia is not the best imaginable world, but simply the best possible world. This better human world must be won with the aid of science and a true philosophy. The various conditions of our success, in a Utopian sense, are well discriminated. A great growth of honesty, a better adjustment of the servant question, an immense reduction of waste in producing luxuries and in the cost of taking goods from the mills to our homes, effective cooperation, the destruction of caste feeling, and sundry other topics are discussed in an attractive way. The author views his theme in English light, and that is more dim in many respects than ours. Besides, some of his *desiderata* are not *desiderata* on our side of the water. One is his reform of cab service. In an honest Utopia the cab drivers would be needless. Each customer would take his carriage

at the cab stand, return it, and leave the right sum in payment. Very few Americans care anything about a cab question; and some kind of a one-cent-fare electric car would be our Utopian device. To dispense with luxury is a noble ideal largely considered in this book. The usual difficulty is encountered as to what is luxury. Our author, like his predecessors, has followed his own tastes, with at least one comical result. He smokes a pipe, he tells us, and so pipe-smoking is not luxurious; but he does not smoke cigars, and cigar-smoking is, therefore, luxurious. Most people define luxury by some such method of self-measurement. Happily, however, we could all agree to lop off a good deal of luxury, some of it from our own consumption, if the general well-being were promoted by it. But we fear that something more must be done to seriously reduce the wastes of modern life. Luxury needs a better definition. A French writer suggests that a luxurious expenditure is simply one in which cost is large and resulting pleasure small, and that it is this disproportion which constitutes luxury. This is better than our author's implied definition: "It is what I do not want." His heart is in the right place, but his head is hardly competent to solve the problem of luxury, if there is one. The tendencies toward simplicity are not unimportant. Gentlemen dress less expensively than they did a hundred years ago, and the common street car is a gain over the cab. Perhaps, after all, we are getting on toward Utopia, and might travel fast in that direction if we knew enough and were good enough. Education and religion will have to be depended upon as our effective forces for the conquest of Utopia.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Travels in Three Continents—Europe, Asia, Africa. By J. M. BUCKLEY, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 614. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, \$3.50.

This work of Dr. Buckley's is far from solitary in its department. So long ago as when the distinguished Wilbur Fisk published his volume of European travels he felt that there was an excess of such literature. In the introduction to his work, which bears the date of 1838, he exclaims: "What! another book of travels! and that, too, describing the ground over which so many have traveled before! What good reason can a man of principle and of sound judgment give for such a publication?" The possible surplus of 1838 would seem to have grown to an overwhelming surfeit in 1895. Without lingering, however, to enumerate the many additional volumes of travel which have been issued since 1838, or stopping to notice the reasons of Dr. Fisk for venturing his now well-nigh forgotten publication, the ground which Dr. Buckley gives for his new volume in his "Prefatory Note" invites our immediate attention. "In reading accounts of the same regions by different travelers," he says, "I have often been struck with the dissimilarities resulting from the personal equation. Each sees what he takes with him, so that several views are more illuminating than one. Because of this I hope that there will be a

place for another record of travel in many of the most interesting parts of the world." A new description of well-trodden scenes and a new interpretation of old-world life are what one, therefore, expects as the result of Dr. Buckley's "personal equation." Having carefully noted the contents of this volume, we are led to say that the reader will not be disappointed in this expectation, and that, for its independent study of Eastern conditions, the book fully justifies its right to be. It goes without the saying that Dr. Buckley has traveled with open eyes. Sweeping in his itinerary through Spain, Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Turkey, Roumelia, Bulgaria, Servia, and Hungary, he sees and notes so much that we must despair of noticing in detail an iota of his observations. Of the Alhambra he says: "I have read Irving, De Amicis—whose emotion and imagination make him so absorbing and misleading—and many other writers on the Alhambra, and gazed upon numberless photographs and paintings; but the result has been as though photographs of the separate parts of the human body were exhibited to an inhabitant of another sphere, as the materials from which he must form an estimate of a living human being, for the Alhambra is not one building, but many. In the deepest valley or the most gloomy desert on the globe it would intoxicate and enthrall; but its situation increases its fascination immeasurably. I doubt if earth contains a grander natural setting for a more astonishing human creation." The only rival of Gibraltar in the author's estimate is the North Cape. "That has the midnight sun; the boundless unexplored mystery of the Arctic Ocean; the silence, solemnity, and severity of an uninhabitable promontory which, though enveloped half the year in a flood of light, is during the other engulfed in an abyss of darkness. But it has no history. It is a type of eternity rather than of time. Gibraltar, equally grand, as commanding a view of two continents, the scene of pivotal conflicts, and the center of various civilizations, presents to the physical eye a spectacle worthy of comparison with any natural scene; while the mind's eye beholds the adventurous Phoenicians, pioneers of commerce and discovery, followed by the Greeks, the Romans, the Spaniards, the Moors, and the English, in irregular but well-defined order, so that the rugged rock is engraven with invisible hieroglyphics, the records of human progress." As for the 134 pages given to the cities, pyramids, mausoleums, and civilization of Egypt, we are forced to condense our comment into the single statement that we believe it as entertaining and accurate a description of the Nile land as any traveler has lately crowded into so small a compass. The 138 pages devoted to the Holy Land are a no less worthy compendium. By the "ancient thoroughfare" from Jaffa the author enters Jerusalem—the road over which "filed the long processions carrying materials for the temple! Kings, prophets, apostles, and countless pilgrims have traversed it; great armies, pagan, Jewish, Mohammedan; pilgrims and Crusaders!" Jerusalem itself he studies as "the amateur explorer, the enthusiastic historian, the devoted antiquarian, the ardent believer, the cautious skeptic, the son of Abraham, the Gentile, the Mohammedan, without forgetting" that he is "a Chris-

tian and an American." Thence northward, under the Syrian sky, the traveler leads us, through the successive cities and regions where the great Master walked, in a pilgrimage most stimulating to Christian faith. Making his exit from the Lord's land by Dan and Hermon, "the Mont Blanc of Palestine," he passes in his itinerary to beautiful Damascus, cosmopolitan Smyrna, and ruined Ephesus; to Athens, the sight of which "accomplishes for Grecian history what a visit to Palestine performs for Jewish—transforms it from dead literature into a living form;" to Corinth; and to Constantinople, whose approach is "marvelous," whose Santa Sophia he regards as "more magnificent than St. Peter's at Rome," and whose College has scattered its students "all over the world." Under the guise of a traveler's pleasant jottings Dr. Buckley has in reality written a philosophic study of the ethnology, traditions, customs, and social conditions of the Eastern lands he traversed. He is not too discursive. If here and there his chapters lack the touches of pleasantry which have marked his letters in *The Christian Advocate*, it is probably because he has preferred to record upon the more permanent page that "certain amount of information" which is "necessary to the interpretation of what one sees and hears." In description his book is vivid and forcible; as to typography and photo-engraving it is a rare illustration of the publishers' skill; for general merit it deserves a permanent place among modern volumes of travel.

Biography of the Rev. Daniel Parish Kidder, D.D., LL.D. By his Son-in-Law, Rev. G. E. STROBRIDGE, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 357. New York: Printed by Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

Among the workmen of the last half century who have labored with patience and success upon the colossal structure of our Methodism, the subject of this memoir stands conspicuous. So versatile in his powers was he, and so diligent in the application of his gifts to his allotted work, that it is difficult to trace the full extent of his influence throughout the Church. Were the present biography, therefore, little more than a chronological record of his official work it would be valuable, for he enjoyed a most varied career, enriched as a pastor, missionary in South America, Secretary of the Sunday School Union, professor at the Garrett Biblical Institute and Drew Theological Seminary, author, and Secretary of the Board of Education. Yet this memoir does far more than present these facts, which may, after all, be learned by application to the records of an Annual Conference. Its charm, on the other hand—and it is the charm of every valuable biography—lies in the delineation to the reader of the inner and real man. We are thus permitted to see the beating heart of the workman whose toil enriched the Church, to hear his voice in the unrestricted associations of private life, and to mark those hidden motives which shaped his official acts; and he loses nothing in such a close scrutiny. His high conscientiousness, his unwavering conviction of the holiness of his mission, his belief in God and in man, his serene reliance upon the truths of Christianity are all set forth by the biographer with such clearness as to impress the reader with the nobility of the man whom God has now called home. We have only commendation for Dr. Strobridge's

work. The memoir he has written seems an unbiased, symmetrical estimate of its subject, and, for its literary excellence as well, is a valuable addition to the rapidly increasing biographical records of our great and holy dead.

The Land of the Veda. Being Personal Reminiscences of India, Its People, Castes, Thugs, and Fakirs, Its Religious, Mythology, Principal Monuments, Palaces, and Mausoleums, together with Incidents of the Great Sepoy Rebellion. Illustrated. New Edition. By WILLIAM BUTLER, D.D. 8vo, pp. 575. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, \$2.

This thrilling book describes a crisis in missionary history. Not only were the interests of Christianity jeopardized in India during those cruel days of which Dr. Butler writes, but its overthrow there by Sepoy malignity, it is well assumed, might have shaken its security throughout the East, and possibly have led to its absolute overthrow. "We felt assured," says the author, in words that no careful reader of the volume will call visionary, "that the successful effort of the India Sepoy would have found cruel imitation in Burmah, China, and Japan, and that it was possible that at that hour—in those terrible days of July and August, 1857—Christianity might have been extinguished in the blood of its last martyrs on the oriental hemisphere, and the clock of the world been put back for centuries. . . . The intervention of the civil war in this country necessarily, for the time, turned away attention from the horrors which were fourteen thousand miles distant; but the public interest in this subject has not ceased, nor will the story of the 'Sepoy Rebellion' ever be forgotten while men admire and honor heroic sufferings, Anglo-Saxon pluck, and sublime Christian courage, exhibited against the most fearful odds and in the face of certain death, in the center of a whole continent of raging foes, while the prince of the powers of the air marshaled the hosts of hell to annihilate the religion of the Son of God." With this assumption, therefore, as a starting point, that the Sepoy uprising was one of the most crucial epochs in the history of Christian missions, the reader will be doubly absorbed by this stirring, blood-chilling description of pagan assault and Christian resistance. Among the chapters of the volume are "The People of India—Caste and its Immunities," "Architectural Magnificence of India," "Originating Causes of the Sepoy Rebellion," "The Cawnpore Massacre and the Relief of Lucknow," "Results of the Rebellion to Christianity and Civilization," "The Condition of Woman under Hindoo Law," and "Our Christian Orphanages in Rohilkund." We would fain linger upon each in detail, were it possible, particularly upon those descriptive of the rebellion itself, when the gorgeous scenery of the Himalaya Mountains was the background of the drama and noble English men and women the actors in the cruel tragedy. In a sense, Dr. Butler's work can never grow old. The fact that a new generation has come to adult years since the rebellion should warrant a fresh, and no less eager, reading of this exceptional volume. The statistics now appended of our present phenomenal work in India will also help to show the exceeding contrast between the India that was and the India

that now is. The Church should again thank Dr. Butler for this history of missionary struggle in the Orient, as it has already given him its reverence for his bravery and success in pioneer work.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Threescore Years and Beyond; or Experiences of the Aged. A Book for Old People, Describing the Labors, Home Life, and Closing Experiences of a Large Number of Aged Representative Men and Women. New Illustrated edition. By W. H. DE PUY, D.D., LL.D. 8vo, pp. 550. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price, cloth, \$1.75.

Only Christianity can inspire such surpassing experiences as are depicted in this volume. The states of tranquillity and of joy which it records characterize no heathen religion, but are altogether peculiar to our holy faith. And the reader is not the least impressed with the similarity of these experiences, compiled so carefully and wisely by Dr. De Puy, though they cover many centuries and lands. The author has gathered together the rich testimonies of Old Testament worthies, reformers, founders, commentators, missionaries, martyrs, philanthropists, educators, pastors and evangelists, historians, distinguished women, poets, statesmen and orators, jurists, and philosophers; and all alike manifest that sweet serenity and even, overflowing gladness which Christian old age so frequently illustrates in our own observation. Incidentally, we might challenge the author's choice of a title for his work, were we in sportive mood. Threescore is not old, or even fourscore, in these latter days of stir and accomplishment. Yet this aside, the reader will be grateful for this faithful compilation, and will rejoice in the circumstances which make possible a second and enlarged edition. Both for the author and reader may there come such sweet experiences as they draw toward the sunset.

The Use of Life. By the Right Honorable Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M. P., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 316. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

This volume is of the same quality and general character as the author's previous books, *The Beauties of Nature* and *The Pleasures of Life*, the latter of which has reached its eighty-fourth thousand. They all contain the ripe wisdom of a well-balanced mind, the meditations of a great man upon the things in nature, the world, and life which seem to a keen and careful observer most significant. Such topics as the following group the practical thoughts of this learned Christian scientist and wise thinker: "The Great Question" (How to live), "Tact," "On Money Matters," "Recreation," "Health," "National Education," "Self-Education," "On Libraries," "On Reading," "Patriotism," "Citizenship," "Social Life," "Industry," "Faith," "Hope," "Charity," "Character," "On Peace and Happiness," "Religion." The critic who said, "Quotation is a confession of one's own incapacity for statement," might speak slightlying of Lubbock's books, for they are full of the quoted wisdom of many of the sages of the ages, in prose and poetry, in fragments which the author who quotes them approves and values. This book is adapted to wide usefulness,

plain, sensible, judicious, and level to the ordinary comprehension. From Drummond is this bit: "Ten minutes spent in Christ's society every day, ay, two minutes, if it be face to face and heart to heart, will make the whole life different." This from Epictetus: "In the place of all other delights substitute this—that of being conscious that you are obeying God, and that, not in word, but in deed, you are performing the acts of a wise and good man." And a thousand others from all sorts of noble thinkers.

Manual for Church Officers. By G. H. DRYER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 216. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, \$1.

There could be no greater *desideratum* than that the official members in all the churches of our great Methodism should have an intelligent conception of our general polity and of their specific duties. To furnish them this instruction, in order that they may do their best work, is the purpose of this manual which Dr. Dryer edits. Part I we find devoted to the "Responsibilities and Rewards of Official Membership in the Christian Church," showing the relation of official members to the community, church, pastor, presiding elder, and each other. Part II discusses "The Specific Duties of Official Members," in which the obligations of local preachers and exhorters, superintendents, Epworth League presidents, class leaders, stewards, trustees, and others are outlined. The conduct of the official board meeting, leaders and stewards' meetings, Quarterly, District, and Lay Electoral Conferences is also outlined with sufficient fullness for practical use. Part III reviews "Lay Organization in the Christian Church," and includes papers on lay work in the Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations, as well as in the general Church, by different divines of prominence. Altogether, Dr. Dryer has written a most discriminating and excellent handbook. Church officers can use it to advantage and should avail themselves of it.

Three of Us—Barney, Cossack, and Rex. By MRS. IZORA C. CHANDLER. Illustrated by the Author. 12mo, pp. 227. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, \$2.

Lucky dogs, indeed, these are, to be dressed up and introduced to the best society by such a gifted and gracious chaperon as Mrs. Chandler. Some dogs whom we have met are more interesting and agreeable than some men which we have known. "Beautiful Joe," Dr. John Brown's "Rab," and the rest, "Barney, Cossack, and Rex"—are we not glad to have them all on our list of friends? If all dogs were like these no one would ever raise the question, *Cum canis?* no, not even in dog days or in oriental villages. John Burroughs thinks the dog will be a man sooner than any other animal will. Barney, Cossack, and Rex show an amazing faculty for aping man's ways. We wish Mrs. Chandler would tell us in the next edition if this story is literally true.

The Burial of The Gun. By THOMAS NELSON PAGE. 12mo, pp. 258. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, ornamental, \$1.25.

After Cable, Page is the most gifted of the Southern writers of to-day. He is a full-blooded, out and out, enthusiastic, apparently unreconstructed

Southerner. He gives us in his captivating stories the life of the South, before, during, and since, the war. The stately, hospitable old mansions, the plantation life, the negroes in days of slavery and since, the rebel soldiery, the heroisms and hardships of war, the suffering, starvation, and surrender which ended the fighting—all are here. An old colonel of artillery held a mountain pass with his battery for some days after the war was over, not knowing of Lee's surrender. When he heard of it he rolled his six cannon with military honors over the cliff into the river and disbanded his men, and that was the "burial of the guns." The book has five other stories.

Our Fight with Tammany. By REV. CHARLES H. PARKHURST, D.D. 12mo, pp. 296. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

The story of the municipal battle which has attracted the world's gaze is here told by the chief commander. He writes with a detail that is sufficient, a caustic treatment that indicates inexhaustible fighting qualities in reserve, and a spirit of hope that is unbaffled by temporary defeat. The volume is most wholesome for the times, and should have a wide reading by those who sympathize with municipal reform.

Earthly Footsteps of the Man of Galilee. Being Five Hundred Original Photographic Views and Descriptions of the Places Connected with the Earthly Life of our Lord and His Apostles. Traced with Notebook and Camera, Showing where Christ was Born, Brought Up, Baptized, Tempted, Transfigured, and Crucified, together with the Scenes of His Prayers, Tears, Miracles, and Sermons, and also Places Made Sacred by the Labors of His Apostles, from Jerusalem to Rome. By Bishop JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., LL.D., Chancellor of Chautauqua, and Rev. JAMES W. LEE, D.D., Author of *The Making of a Man*. R. E. M. BAIN, Photographic Artist. New York and St. Louis: N. D. Thompson Publishing Co. Complete in twenty-four parts. Price, per part, 25 cents.

It is doubtful if such a pictorial representation of the land of Palestine has ever before been published. The size of the illustrations herein contained, their remarkable mechanical excellence, and also the comprehensive maps put the Lord's land before the reader with a vividness that may not be described. We fail to see how human art could make more real the home of the "Man of Galilee." The authors, Bishop Vincent and Dr. Lee, whose names give standing to this issue, are both experienced travelers in Palestine, while Mr. Bain is no ordinary photographic artist. The opportunity is therefore unusual for securing at small expense a pictorial representation of the most interesting of all lands.

Little Mr. Thimblefinger and his Queer Country. What the Children Saw and Heard There. By JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS, Author of *Uncle Remus*, etc. Illustrated by OLIVER HERFORD. Crown 8vo. pp. 230. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.

Under the guidance of a tiny sprite, who is known as Mr. Thimblefinger, Susan, John, and their nurse, Drusilla, take a journey to a strange country underneath a spring, see strange sights, and hear strange stories. In this excursion into the realm of the fanciful Mr. Harris seems at his best. Of the stories which he tells some, he writes, were gathered from the negroes, some are folklore stories of middle Georgia, and some are pure inventions.

